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THE

STATE PAPERS

AND

LETTERS

OF

SIR RALPH SADLER,

KNIGHT-BANNERET.

EDITED BY

ARTHUR CLIFFORD, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE OF SIR RALPH SADLER,

WITH

HISTORICAL NOTES,

BY

WALTER SCOTT, ESQ.

VOL. III.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;

AND FOR

T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, WILLIAM MILLER,

AND JOHN MURRAY, LONDON.

1809.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.

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No. III.—Continued.

THE

ESTATE OF ENGLISH FUGITIVES

UNDER

THE KING OF SPAINE AND HIS MINISTERS.

CONTAINING BESIDES,

A DISCOURSE OF THE SAYD KINGS MANNER OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE INJUSTICE OF MANY LATE DISHONORABLE PRACTISES BY HIM CONTRIVED.

But to recite unto you the names of those that doo yet live so poorely and uncomfortably in his pension, would be a matter too tedious; and therefore take them all in general, C. Paget onely excepted, who came wel furnished with crownes out of England, and likewise inherited many good things that my lord Paget lefte unto him at his death, and examine them one from another from my lord of Westmerland downe even to the verie lowest; and if there be in the whole world a more miserable and discontented troupe of gentlemen, let me never be credited in anie thing else that I shall tel you. And because you shall your selfe the better judge, I will tell you what paiment they have of such pensions as the king hath given them.

They had graunted them at Bruges, the first daiie of August, in the yeere 1588, a general *liberanca*, to receve three moneths paie a peece of their pensions. But first, before I goe anie further, I thinke it verie necessarie to let you understand what manner of thing this *liberanca* is, of which I speake, to the end that you may bee acquainted with the inventions and craftie delayes that they use in this matter of payment; for if you have not especiall favour, it will bee sixe moneths after the grant thereof, do what you can, afore it will be fully signed, and in estate for you to demand your monie. A *liberanca* is a bill of assignation for the receite of monie graunted to some one in particular, or to two or three joyntly, or a hundred or more, as occasion shal require: it is first drawen, and underneath signed by the chiefe secretory that attendeth on the generall; it is directed by the duke unto the treasurer general, commanding him to paye the same of whatsoever monie hee shall have within his charge, but first to see that the same be perused and registred in both the offices of the two contadors of the armie, and signed with their names and rubrikes; and then that it be likewise registred, perused, and rubrikt by the veedor generall, and signed with his name. After this, he expresseth the causes that moveth him to grant the summe of monie to the partie that bringeth the *liberanca*, with many other particularities. This is the manner of a *liberanca;* without which there is not there anie paiment made of monie to any man, unlesse it be by secret billets from the generall, which are but seldome, and that upon secret and sodain causes, as trecherie, intelligence, or espial, or some such base matter as requireth secrecie, and not to be delaid. The wordes of such billets are, to command the treasurer to paie unto the bringer for secrete services, so much monie as is therein expressed; which, without more words, being signed with the dukes hand, is presently dispatched: but unles it have bin to some notable spie, fewe such billets have fallen to anie Englishmans share. As for the *liberanca*, which is the ordinarie and usuall kind of paiment, after that by tedious labor and solicitation, a man hath in sixe moneths space gotten all their hands, yet in a manner he is never the neerer, for some of them are never paid, and scarcely anie til they be two or three

yeres old; if in the meane time the party loose his *liberanca*, there is no recoverie of a new by anie meanes possible; if he die, no benefite thereof riseth to his wife, children, or heirs, for a *liberanca* is never paide but personally to him in whose name it is first granted. If it be with long carriage fretted, or the names of those that signed it obscured, it is a sufficient cavill to frustrate the payment; insomuch, that one Camell, a Scotchman, came with a faire peece of parchment in his hand to Cosmo the secretorie, humbly desiring that his *liberanca* might be therein ingrossed, for in paper he was sure it wold be worne out before he should recover the payment.

Such a *liberanca* (I saie) as this was graunted to the English pensioners in the yeere abovesayde, for three moneths paie, of which, till October in the yere 1590, I am sure they had not received one penny; how long they staid without it afterwards I know not, for of latter time I cannot give anie so certaine assurance; onely the common report is, that things there are not much bettered, but now, especially since the duke of Parma's death, much impaired.

Their necessitie was great, and they followed the duke from towne to towne, importunatly requiring paiment; but especiallye they never left Cosmo the dukes secretorie in quiet, who to rid himselfe of their troublesome importunities, addressed them to Baptista Spinola, a Genouese banker, dwelling in Antwarpe, giving them his letter, and sending the same by one Henry Haslewood, requesting him to releeve those distressed English gentlemen, and to buy their *liberanca*, which he doubted not but they woulde sell good cheape greatly to his profit; the whole summe was ten thousand crowns, which Cosmo promised him should be allowed and passed in the reckoning which he had with the king. Haslewood in the name of the rest offered him the sayd summe for sixe thousand, but Spinola utterly refused the same, saying he would not take it for two thousand; and withall, he desired that hee might not meddle anie more with the king, wishing that hee had not medled with him so much. So that they were faine to returne poore and pennylesse; and did in that instant of which I speake, live in so poore and pittifull a sort, that truly it was a grief to see it; insomuch

that I knew a gentleman that solde his part there, amounting to twentie-four pounds, for three poundes. But perchance you will saie hee giveth great pensions, and intertaineth many of our nation. It is true in deed, in shew he doth so, and therewith doth bleare the worlds eies with an apparance of great liberalitie; but his paiment and usage considered, (I protest unto you that I speak unfainedly) I do not know anie estate of life in England so meane, which I do not much prefer before being here a pensioner to the king of Spaine. I leave the judgement of the truth heereof to those that have tried it; you have many of them amongst you, conferre with them, and examine them upon their conscience. As for my part, in good faith I cannot imagine the cause why hee intertaineth us, unlesse it be to use us as stales to allure others, considering the hatred that he and his beareth us, and so under the dissembled colour of a false affection, at length to overthrow us all.

Thus much I dare boldly saie, because through the conference that I have had with them, I doo knowe it assuredly, that even those of our nation which do most serve his turne, howsoever in outward apparance they seeme for some particular causes to magnifie and extoll his liberalitie, yet in theyr owne secret conceites they doo imagine and knowe nothing in the worlde to bee more reproachfull, base, and contemptible, than to be an entretenido in the king of Spaines service, especially if hee serve not in the warres, and have his entertainment assigned him in some companie or other, which fewe or none of our countrymen have, chiefely those of the better sorte. As for those that have their pensions granted them to follow the court without anie obligation of service, as in a manner all the pensions granted to the Englishmen are, the Spanish souldier maketh the most base and contemptible reckoning of them that may bee, even as of men that live by charitie, as our poore knightes doo at Windsore. But to the end you may in this point cleerely discerne the manner of their usage, you must understand, that the king granteth two manner of pensions or extraordinarie paies, bestowing upon men of desert eyther of them, as the occasion and the qualitie of theyr service shal require; the one called by the name of Entertainment, and the other Ventaya, in the patents

wherin they are granted. The first, which they call Entertainment, is such as is graunted to our countrymen, and to stragling Italians, and to some cashierd captaines, such as are of best regard, and to strangers of other nations, who are never paid till the whole armie be satisfied, and all other occasions defraid; then if any overplus remaine, which seldome happeneth, somwhat therof perchance may come to their share. This pension is verie casuall, and hath often bin abolished and taken awaie quite, as well from the English as from all other nations; witnes Charles Browne, Hugh Owen, and Ralfe Ligons, that were faine foure yeres since, upon that occasion, to go into Spaine, where after long and great sute, they brought downe order again to have the same renued; yet still commonly once a yeere there comes an allarum among them, that the king will not be any longer at the charge of so many pensions, and in danger to be turned out of paie. And some three or four yeres agone, they were all commanded to go downe to the armie, and to put themselves in service under some companie, or otherwise not to expect anie pension or paiment; which how unfitting it is, and unworthie to men brought up in other courses, as most of them are, I leave to your judgement: yet the misery of that bondage to which they have subjected themselves, must indure all; and which is most miserable, must not complain when they are striken. The other paiment or pension, which is called Ventaya, as it is much more honorable, because (though verie usuall among the Spaniards and all other nations, ours excepted,) yet they are never granted but upon pretence of good service don, or some duenes of desert; they that have them are more respectively regarded and better paid than the other, and they are never taken from them, so long as they follow the kings service. Many of our nation have served among the Spaniards, yet to this daie did I never knowe anie one graced with one of these Ventayas, though they are common to all other nations, yea, even to the Germanes, though granted to them by the name of Sobrepagas, which in effect is all one.

If I were guiltie to my selfe, that this which I doo write were untrue, I should greatly feare the shame of reprofe in a matter so mani-

fest, especially there being now in England many that are as well or better acquainted with these matters than my selfe, and can contradict me where I erre. But grounding my selfe upon the confidence of an assured truth, I cannot but wonder, these things being so, how anie that hath the true feeling of that which pertaineth to the honor of a gentleman, can indure an usage so scornful and contumelious as this which daily they receive from the Spaniard; of which if you desire one example for all, this may satisfie you which followeth. At such time as the duke of Parma lay at Bruges, busie about his preparations for England, and attending the Spanish fleet, when they all expected to be made knights, coronels, captaines, and conductors of the armie, and to be filled with crownes, they were so far from those matters with which they flattered themselves, that in sted of being honored and advanced, they were the only rejected and contemned people that followed the court; all nations els beeing releeved with some moneths paie, they onely excepted. And which is more, wheras they moved the duke sundrie times to know his pleasure, how he would dispose of them in that journey, telling him besides, that upon the well usage of them depended much matter of importance, as the alluring and drawing unto them other gentlemen of their kinsmen and friends, who upon hope of the like good usage, honor, and advancement, would be able to do great service upon their landing; wheras contrariwise, seeing them come over so poore in shew, without credit, money, or armes, like lackies, (for so were the words of their request) it would be a cause to terrifie them from undertaking of anie such course: they were by the duke scornfully and with derision rejected, neither did he vouchsafe to give them anie other answere, than only that he would think upon it. But on the night in which upon the hurlyburlie of the comming of the Spanish navie, they thought to imbarke, he departed towards Donckerk, leaving them all behinde, not thinking them any way worthy to bee called upon, or to be taken with him. Whereupon the earle of Westmerland, the lord Paget, and sundry of the better sort, laide their heads together, and made their complaint unto the duke of Pastrana, (who was newly come out of Spaine with great favours from

the king, and there lived in great honor and applause among the Spaniards) but by him, some saye, they were as basely and scornefully handled as by the other. The Spaniards did much disdaine their aggravation of their abilitie and meanes to facilitate the kings enterprise for England, insomuch that one Don Ambrosio, a man of principal qualitie, asked them in cholar, whether they thought the king of Spain not puissant inough to win England without them and their friends. This evill intreatie wrought so great an apprehension in my lord Paget, (who both in regard of his fathers especiall credit in times past with the king, as also of his owne qualitie and carriage, had presumed upon much better usage,) that he retired him selfe to Brussels, where, what with the conceit of this griefe, and what with other accidents, he shortly ended his life. Sir William Stanley tooke it also in such disdainfull sort that he was not called to the counsell of the wars, (whereas he presumed and gave out, that no man in the armie knew more, or was better able in this voiage than himself,) that he sequestred himselfe from the court, and comming discontented to Antwarpe, there hired a house, where foure or five moneths hee lived full of melancholy and passion, making evident shew that his mind was utterly unable to beare the burthen of so great an indignitie.

But whosoever liveth there, must bee contented to indure this and a great deale more, for the Spaniards will not be by anie meanes perswaded, that those of our nation living there with them are gentlemen of good houses, qualities, and living in England, but rather take them to be such as the banditti of Italy, men fled out of their countrie for theft, debt, robbery, or manslaughter, as a captain of them spared not plainly to tell sir William Stanley in the passage-boat between Antwarpe and Brussels, saying, that he could not but exceedingly wonder what should move a man, being rich, well descended, and of good living in his country, to change the same for the service of an opposite forren prince, swearing a great oath, that all the religion in the world should not make him do the like.

Likewise a great companie of them standing round together in a

ring (as their manner is) upon the Mere Brigge in Antwarpe, and seeing certaine English gentlemen passe by, one of them, and hee a captaine, by name Lucas, well knowen by his redde beard, balde head, and maymed armes, sayde, that hee wondered what the king made with anie such vermine in his countrie. Another of them sware a greate oath, that looke howe manie English men there were in the kings service, there were so many spies and traitors; the third said, it were an almes deed to put them all in sacks, and to throw them into the river; but the fourth verie gently replied, that it would be a better course to send them downe to the kings gallies, where in regarde of their big joynts and broad shoulders, they could not but prove good tuggers at an oare. But these beeing but the speeches of private men, might the better bee borne, were they not confirmed by men of greater sort; which whether it be so or no, aske T. Throckmorton, who talking with Juan de Lasture, the kings treasurer general, one day upon the walls of Brussels, wondered why the king, having such pretences for England, made no more reckoning of such Englishmen as followed him, who in regard of their parentage and intelligence might bee able to doo him great services, if they were hartned with somwhat better usage; whereas now, by reason of their povertie and drouping, they were not fit for anie thing. To which the treasurer replied, that he was not ignorant of the estate, qualitie, and condition of all such Englishmen as followed the king; but for his part (swearing a Spanish oath or two) he knew not anie one of them in regard of abilitie to do the king service, worth the straw that lay under his foot.

The like answere in a manner was given by Francesco Blancocauallo, his vizetreasurer in Antwarpe, to captaine Pernay and other gentlemen, who being denied by him the paiment of certaine monie they demaunded, and speaking of the services they had done unto the king, he answered, that he knew not what services they had done, or were able to doo, unlesse it were to spend the kings monie in tavernes and brothell houses. The like they received from Sammariba, the veedors chiefe officer; but that the same was accompanied with worse effects: for captaine Barney laying hand on his rapier, making proffer to re-

venge the hardnes of such speeches as were offered him, was presently invironed among them, and run thorough the doublet in a place or two, not without exceeding danger of his life.

But by the waie I thinke it not amisse to tell you a merrie accident that fell out betweene the treasurer and one captain Smith, an Englishman, spoken of before in this treatise; who being one daie well tipled, cam in all hast to demand his monie of Juan de Lasture. He seeing him come in that unreverent sorte, grew so farre gone with cholar as the other was with wine, and reviled him by many foule names, as *perro*, *luterano*, *borachio*, &c. Smith had not a word of Spanish, nor anie other language, but a little Dutch, wherein he requited the treasurer in as snarling tearmes as he could, calling him *honscont*, *schellam*, and Turke. Wherewith the treasurer came in a great rage, and would have thrust him downe the staires, but Smith drew out his dagger, and had without doubt mischieved him, if coronell Boid and other Scottish gentlemen, that were there present as sutors for monie, had not come between them. The matter came before the duke, who, as alwayes hating Juan de Lasture exceedingly, made but a jest of it; and Smith being sober, submitted himselfe, imputing his fault to the wine, and so the matter was ended.

I could recite unto you a thousand the like thinges as these; but they are not worthie the remembring. Returning therefore to my purpose: they are so jealous and suspitious of us, that if anie thing prove untowardly in their service, they think it straight to be done by our especial meanes and intelligence; as upon the taking of Axhill by that honorable and worthie souldier sir Philip Sidney, Mondragon presently imprisoned Pigot within the castle of Gaunt, tooke away all thinges whatsoever he had worth anie thing, and the rest he caused his men to rifle and steale, saying openly, that we were all traitors and spies. And if you desire further confirmation of the good opinion and confidence they have of us, tell mee what companies of English they have trusted within these ten yeeres in garrison; I am sure you cannot name one. And wheras sundrie English gentlemen have instantly sued to have their pensions granted them in the castles of Antwarpe

or Gaunt, because the paiment is there somewhat better, no one hath hetherto bin able to obtaine the same, so base and of no regard is the estate in which they live. I coulde alleadge unto you many other examples of mightie wrongs and disgraces offered unto our nation, wherby they might (if they list) easily discover the hatred the Spaniard beareth them, the suspitious jealousie with which they overlooke them, and the danger wherein they stand to have one daie all their throats cut. And that this hard dealing and hatred of theirs proceedeth not of anie demerit of the English, but of a rooted and ingrafted malice of the Spaniards to our whole nation, may, by many actions of theirs, be proved and made manifest. For whensoever the fortune of the warres hath delivered anie of us into their hands, it is strange to thinke with what greedie and unsatiable thirst they have desired to shed English bloud. As for example: at Rosendale, where sundry English regiments, being by the marshal Biron abandoned and betraied, were by them defeated and overthrowen, it is scarcely credible what barbarous crueltie they used upon men rendred, and demanding mercie uppon their knees. But admit all cruelty tollerable during the furie of an execution, (though among Christians, and men of noble and valorous minds, there is yet a moderation to be used,) what bloudie inhumanitie was ever heard the like to that which they used the next daie. For whereas the Italians and Burgonians (moved with a souldierly compassion) had taken many English prisoners, and saved them from the former slaughter; upon the next mornings march, as they brought them foorth, thinking to lead them quietly home to their quarter, the Spaniards, with a hellish furie, crying *matta, matta,* drew their rapiers, and murthered with many wounds these poore naked men, not suffering a man of them to scape alive.

Likewise in that trecherous and sinonicall practise of Graveling, wherein they thought to have intrapped noble sir Philip Sidney, how cruelly and tiranously did they use those poore men of ours that were sent before to discover it? All were safe, according to promise, whom after they had received into their gates with friendly salutations, and intertained a good space in the town, in the end when they sawe the

successe of the enterprise aunswered not their bloudie, traiterous, and unmanly expectation, they disarmed and unclothed them in the market-place, and finally, like cruell butchers, and not like honorable souldiers, murthered them everie one.

We have not (thankes bee to God) wanted occasion many times since to crie quittaunce with them, as namely at the fort of Bergues, where by Grimstones practise they were brought to the trappe. There were gentlemen of good worth there present, that advised my lord Willoughby to serve them with the same measure as they had served the poore Englishmen at Graveling: but he having ever in all his actions folowed the waie of honour, disdained unnobly to imbase his hands with the unworthie bloud of men rendred and unable to resist. Likewise after the overthrow of that their late fleetes, (which before hand they tearmed Invincible) when such numbers of them were taken, that the prisons of London were not capable of them, if her majestie would have followed the example of theyre owne nation, shee might have used them as Don Juan did the Wallons after the battle of Jeblours, where taking verie neere 2000 of them prisoners, the next day after the battell he caused them to be bound two and two together, and to bee tumbled headlong over the bridge of Namures into the river of Meuse: but her majestie, like a Christian princesse, full of roiall magnanimitie (though the mischivous intention of their comming, and the horrible cruelties that they pretended were not unknowen unto her,) yet caused them to bee dispersed into severall convenient places, and there upon her charge to be provided for, and lastly, to be sent over into Flanders, accompanied with ships, artilleric, and sufficient convoy of men, to warrant their safetie by the way. Likewise she permitted those that had bin cast a land in Scotland, quietly to passe along her narrow seas, yea, and accompanied them with her safe conduct, though she well knew that their arrivall in the Low Countries could not but be a great re-enforcement to the weakned troups of her armed enemy the duke of Parma.

The affection then of the Spaniard beeing such towards us and our nation as you have heard, I hope those before remembred examples

shall be sufficient to assure and perswade you, that under the king of Spains dominion and government there is not any wealth, honor, or advancement, to bee gotten, but contrariwise, povertie, perill, jelousie, and disgrace.

Now let us see touching the pointes of conscience and repose in religion, if the same be to be found heere, such as you expect. In a matter of religion I will not take uppon mee to dispute, but will leave the decision thereof to men of greater abilitie. Onely for this time allowing your religion to bee good, (which surely if it bring not forth better fruits, will hardly be proved to be the true tree,) let us now come to the contentment which you might heere receive in free usage of the same, together with the conversation of such other your countrymen as are heere of the same profession and religion.

First, I thinke you are not ignorant of the divisions, partialities, and factions, that are betweene them; which surely are such, that I thinke scarcely in the world ther is to be found such a divided sorcerie of men. I speake it not in respect of private quarrells and contentions, wherein they have often wounded, maimed, and slaine one another, but I meane in regard of different and long induring factions, wherein great partes of them are most malitiously opposite one against another, to the great prejudice and slaunder of them all. For you must consider, that there are amongst them foure sorts of humours, of which each sortes himselfe to his semblable. The one, (and I name them first, for otherwise they would not take it well,) pretend to be great statesmen and deep polititians; these will not vouchsafe to looke on anie other booke but such as treate of high matter, pollicy, and government, as Bodins Commonwealth, Machivels Prince, Lipsius his Politikes, Manutius his Lawes, and such like. Neither is there anie of these, no not the least, but thinks himselfe sufficient to be a magnifico of Venice. There is a second sort, wholy devoted to the folowing and faction of the Jesuits, serving them as their espials and instruments in whatsoever they imploy them: these are verie hatefull to the rest, and are dangerous to converse withall; not so much in regard that anie of them are able to do a chips worth of harme, as of their willingnesse to do it if they

were able. There are others, whome the rest generally in dirision call by the name of Patriots, which is to saie, lovers and affecters of their countrie. These, indeed, among all the rest, are men of the greatest temperance and best behaviour; who, howsoever they are in religion contrarilye affected, yet you shall never heare them speake unreverently of her majestie; neyther truly do I thinke that in their hearts they wish her anie harme; at least-wise they are verie respectious in bewraying it either in worde or action: I have heard some of them saie, that so they might bee suffered to returne into England, and to injoy the libertie of theyr conscience, they would be contented to bee confined within the compasse of a poore cottage, and bee bound never to come out of it while they lived.

But of all the rest, the fourth and last are the best fellowes, for they flie but a verie low pitch, being men utterly void both of learning, wit, and civilitie; these the rest esteeme no otherwise of, than as of verie dunses, not fit for anie imployment. The farthest drifte of their religion is, to speake ill of the queene, to say the pope is a good man, and to thumpe their breasts hard when they come to church. I knew one of them, that having sometimes beene a pettie marchant in England, solde all that ever hee had, and putting two hundred poundes in his purse, went to Hierusalem to buye a pounde of waxe candles, which hee brought home upon his back, and withal as much earth of the Mount Olivet as hee was able to carrie; imagining that everie dram thereof was able to cast out a legion of devils. In regard of which reliques, uppon his returne to Brussels hee obtained a pension, where hee still remaineth: and truely hee may bee a good man, for I thinke hee liveth in as great povertie as ever did anie of the apostles, though perchance not so voluntarie: but the best is, he will not give his best friend the least mite of his holye thinges, saying, that he reserveth them to furnish the churches in England, when they shall come one daie to bee catholique; and hath alreadie appoynted what churches they bee that hee meanes to make beholding unto him for this high benefite.

I would have named the particular names of everie one according to

the factions to which they are affected, but that I feare this last remembred sort would have beene angrie with me; and withall, there is another respect or two besides. But above all these, there is one overruling faction, that hath drawen them into mightie partialities and strange extremities one against another. The originall whereof sprong out of the Romish seminary betweene the English and the Welch: either partie had for favourer and protector a man of great authoritie; to which leaned doctor Allen for the one, and doctor Lewis for the other, a man verie wise and learned, and by reason of his age, gravitie, and long continuance in those parts, of great authoritie in the court of Rome, and since, in the later end of pope Gregorie, created bishop of Casano in Naples, but alwayes a verie bitter enemie to the Jesuites. In fine, each nation with all vehemencie laboured for the presidentship and superioritie one over the other. The Welchmen pretended the first foundation of the colledge to have bin by a British king, for the perpetuall behoofe of his countrymen: the Englishmen likewise alleadging their reasons; but in the end, doo what they could, they were by the Welchmen caused to avoid the house. Wherupon (with their fardles upon their neckes, as being readie to depart the towne,) they presented themselves unto pope Gregorie, whom with a lamentable oration they moved to take such compassion of them, that he caused them to returne, takin (to their full contentment) order betweeu them and their adversaries. Notwithstanding which reconciliation, there still remained a great hart-burning and dislike. Shortly after, pope Sixtus determining to make a cardinall of our nation, there grewe for the same great competency betweene doctor Lewis and doctor Allen, each one for the obtaining thereof applying his best friendes to the uttermost. But in the end, thorough the instant pursuite of the Jesuites, who spared no travel nor expence, they procured unto doctor Allen such mightie friends, that the lot and preheminence of this dignitie fell upon him; of whom, and of the Jesuites, and of their faction, were for ever mortally hated, all those that had bin anie waie favorers or well-willers to doctor Lewis; but chiefly and among the rest one Thomas Morgan, a man not inferior to anie of them all in driftes of poli-

cie, who had bin sometimes secretorie to the Scottish queene, and indeed had instantly labored in the behalfe of doctor Lewes. The Jesuites since have had many a plucke at him; but Morgan being wise, strengthened himselfe alwaies with such friends, that they could never do him anie hurt, but rather ever now and then he gave them a secret blow. He drew wholy unto his faction the lord Faget, the bishop of Dunglane, a Scotchman of great credit and gravity; C. Paget, T. Throckmorton, Ralfe Liggons, and sundry other that esteeme themselves to be of the better sort. Notwithstanding all which, so effectuall and forcible were the means with which they practised against him, that they got him to bee imprisoned in Paris, laying to his charge, that hee was an intelligencer for sir Frances Walsingham, a traitor to the service of the queen his mistres, and from time to time a discoverer of her practises, and withall procured the sayd queene to conceive exceedingly ill of him, and taking the receivers ship of her dowrie in France from him, to bestow the same upon the bishop of Rosse. Yet for all this, Morgan found such friends in the court of Rome, that by the popes expresse commandements, directed from time to time to his nuntio then resident at Paris, he was set at libertie; and therupon began to make his justifications to the world, and withall bitterly to inveigh against his adversaries, and the wrongs which they had don him. Likewise, at that instant, there was a booke printed in Paris, publikely accusing the Jesuites of many wicked practises and most malitious impieties, of which they suspected Morgan; and sure I thinke it was his worke, but they could never apparantly prove it against him. Therfore seeing that they had in this failed, they determined to take their revenge by another course; to effect the which, they used as an instrument a young gentleman called Gage, whom by many practises they suborned and incensed thereunto; the manner whereof was as followeth: Morgan being come downe into the Low Countries in company of the lord Paget and his brother Charls, having been one night late at evening service in the church of saint Gudula at Brussels, was, as he came down the church staires, encountered in the darke by

Gage, and by him grievously wounded in the face; who thereupon presently fled, thinking that he had slaine him; but afterwardes, by the means and earnest pursuit of the lord Paget, was apprehended. The Jesuites and their partie seemed at the first stifly to deny that they had bin the causers of this fact, but the sequel of their proceedings made it most apparant to the whole world: for when Morgan, the lord Paget, and diverse of his friends, labored verie earnestly and with petitions unto the duke, to have the rigor and severitie of justice to proceed against him by whom this great violence was offred, they first labored for reconciliation, which being flatly refused, then to stop the plaintifes mouthes,and to prevent such mischiefes as they feared might insue, they found no better meanes than once again to accuse Morgan of treason; laying to his charge sundrie points of trecherie, as well in former matters concerning the Scottish queen, as also the service and person of the duke of Parma. Besides, they accused him to have bin a setter on of Gifford and his confederates, in such practises as they had undertaken by sir Frances Walsinghams warrant and setting on; and to that end they sent Chriton the Scottish Jesuite to Paris, to take Giffords examination, whose imprisonment they had there procured; and withall, they caused all such as anie way relied upon them, to take their oath before the auditor generall, that in their conscience they thought Morgan to be a traitor and a spie: unto the taking of which oath also they laboured earnestly with sundrie others, which (they not having their conscience so saleable) refused and utterly denied to doo; yet in the meane time, while these things were in hand, they wrought so with their forged accusations, that Morgan was clapt close prisoner in a miserable dungeon, called the Truerenborche, where til the duke of Parmas death he remained; at which time, as it is said, he was set at libertie, and liveth now with the bishop of Cusano. Upon his apprehension, there were above thirtie severall ciphers found in his closet, in which, abroade in the worlde, he corresponded with great personages; and withall, a letter which hee had newly written to the bishop of Dunglane, verie defamatory against the person of the duke

of Parma; which incensed the duke exceedingly against him, and was, without doubt, the chiefest cause of his long imprisonment; for otherwise it is thought hee wold easily have overpassed the calumniation of the Jesuits. In fine, these two factions have sought to overthrow one anothers credit in the chiefest courts of Christendom; opening of either side such foule matters, and tossing to and fro such filthie and slanderous defamations, that all men crie out against them both, holding them to bee traitors and men of no fidelitie. So that undoubtedly I cannot but thinke him distracted of his wits, that having meanes to live else where quietly, will make himself a partie in these partialities and contentions; which whosoever liveth there must needs doo, or else, like an enemy to them both, be rusht like a ship betweene two tempests.

But the prettiest of all is, to see how smoothly they handle the matter with you in England, abusing your simplicitie with the subtiltie of their words, and the holynes of their apparance. They make you, and the other catholikes of England, beleeve, that what practises and drifts so ever they take in hand, are all for the zeale of religion and advancement of the catholike cause: and you silly soules thinke all they saie to bee gospell, whereas (God wot) religion is the least matter of a thousand that they thinke uppon. The onely point they aime at, beeing lost companions at home, is to make themselves great where they are, and that by making you hazard your lives, reputations, and credits, and to that ende they are alwayes breeding of practises and conspiracies, both within and without the realme, caring not what successe they take; if they prove well, then they will have the praise, merite, honor, and rewarde thereof; if otherwise, then they saie their good will must be accepted, in great matters the attempt is sufficient. And thereby they thinke to win the reputation to be accounted great state men, and contrivers of waightie matters; not caring in the meane time for the securitie of them by whome they work, as appeareth by the example and fall of many brave gentlemen of England, whome by their trecherous practises they have brought to ruine and destruction. They

verie well knew, that when they first began to set abroach the matter of Babbington and his disloiall confederats, that the effecting thereof, in such sorte as they had plotted it, was altogether unpossible, as Mendoza the Spanish embassador told Ballard the priest, their instrument in contriving the same, when he was at first in Paris brought unto him by Charles Paget, to desire him to informe the king his master of their intention; and withall, that at a daie appointed, there might be a force and assistance of men readie to correspond with them. But that was all one, so they might be accounted men of great reach, and dealers in such high state matters, they spared not to proceede in inchanting those poore unexperienced yong gentlemen, never leaving till they had brought them to their ends, to the utter ruine of them and their houses, in such sorte as to the whole world is manifest, and needs not to be recited.

Let therefore all the gentlemen of England, especially the Catholiks, (who in regard of their religion and credulitie are by them likeliest to be insnared) take heed and beware of having any thing to do with this pestilent and factious race of people; for they speak so devoutly, looke so smoothly, and write with such counterfeted gravity and holines, that it is hard for anie man to eschue theyr deadly baits, unles he do first knowe the falshood and trecherie under which they doo colour and shroud them. What else hath intangled M. Shelly in these extreame calamities? What likewise brought the late earle of Northumberland (who never before was once detected of the least disloialtie towards his prince or countrie) into so great troubles and distresses, and finally to so tragicall and despairful an end? but onely these outlandish practises, and their conference with counterfeit Mope, who was sent out of France by this seditious troup, to the end to overthrow both the one and the other.

What besides hath bin the cause of bringing so many other gentlemen to the losse of their lives and livinges, that lived before in ease, repose, and securitie of conscience? And, which is more, were not they the only contrivers of the death of the queen of Scotland, by setting

her in continuall practise one upon another against the sacred person and roiall estate of our most gracious soveraign, the queenes majestie; so that of violent necessitie, her majestie, though tardif, unwilling, and with great grief, at the generall and instant petition of all her most loving and faithfull subjectes, (whose onely weale and comfort dependeth upon her long life and prosperitie) to satisfie them, and to preserve the estate of her noble and flourishing realm in quiet, was constrained to secure the scepter in her own hands, by taking awaie the life of her that sought to wrest it from her; thogh how much the noblenes of her mind was therwith aggrieved, the whole world that hath knowen anie thing of her proceedings therin, either before or after, can be a witnes? I saie not this onely of my selfe, though I and all the world else do know it to be true, that these their dealings have made them hatefull and detestable even to those of their owne religion, insomuch that a French Jesuit tearmeth them all in generall, in a book which he hath written touching the queen of Scotlands death, a viperous, mischievous, and faithles kind of people, trecherous to those they deale withall, disdainfull, arrogant, ambitious, and worthie to be extermined out of the utmost bounds of the world; besides many such other goodly epithetes, with which he beutifies them in their colours: his whole booke beeing nothing but railing against English fugitives, wishing all princes, noble men, and gentlemen whatsoever, to beware and take heed of them, and that in such earnest, vehement and invective manner, that it is not possible to be more.

And yet for all so many tragicall ends of their bloudie and traiterous indevours, are they moved with anie the least sparke of repentance. Neither hath the ruine of so many of you their countrimen, wrought and contrived by their practise, allurement, and perswasion, bred in them anie feeling of remorse or conscience, but rather thereby animated and incouraged to set new conspiracies and treasons abroach, with meaning in deed by sowing seditions among you, and by opposing you against the state, to make you the onely instruments one of the others ruine, and so to make the way open to the Spanish tyrant.

I will not speak any thing of their infinit former practises, as well in Ireland as within this realme, against the person of her majestie, the quietnes of either country, wherin still their instruments have by violent ends miserably perished; which desolations, procured by their only practise, (but that they are utterly voide of all Christian humanitie) might have served to perswade them, that God is not pleased with their action, or at least the bloudie quarters of so many gentlemen as the swoorde of justice from time to time (constrained by their horrible attempts) hath divided and dispersed about the wals and turrets of London, and other places in this realme, might have stroken a terrour into their mindes, never more to hazard the lives of their countrymen in so wicked and tragical an enterprise. But no whit at all are their uncharitable and stonie harts herewith touched, but rather still incensed more and more to practise the desolation of this noble realme, and the death of our most deare and dreaded soveraign, no whit at all regarding the greatnes of her majesty, the same being of all other nations had in such regard and reverence, nor the tendernes of her sex, which even amongest the most barbarous nations, hath bin alwais a safegard against violence; nor, lastly, the shining brightnes of her vertue, which hath moved the remotest regions of the world to admire her, and the greatest princes living, some by themselves, some by their ambassadors, to offer her all honor, service, and reverence.

All this notwithstanding, these men, according to the confession of their instruments lately executed, keepe a solemne councell table, wherein nothing is handled but new and daily practises for the shortening of her majesties most glorious life, though they see how miraculously God blesseth and defendeth her, and that, as the giants which did shoote against heaven, they are still wounded with the fall of their owne arrowes.

What folowed of their late practise with that worthy and honorable gentleman, Ferdinando, late earle of Darby, but onelie that it brought poore Heskits, their instrument for execution thereof, to the gallowes, who bitterly with tears bewailed their acquaintance; and naming sir

William Stanley and others, cursed the time that hee ever had knowen anie of them?

But all had bin well, if his death onely, or the death of a thousand more such traitors, had concluded the tragedie, so that the noble earle had not likewise with his fall given all England cause to crie out upon them; for when they had once fully discovered the loyaltie of his affection towards her majesty, and the hatred that he bare to them and their faction, either of which he well testified by the apprehension of Heskits, hee came shortly afterwards to the end of his life, whether by their practise or no, God knoweth, and time will discover. But that so it was (the circumstance of the matter, and the accidents of his sicknes considered) there is nothing more likely.

Having herein failed, presently they set newe instruments aworke, as Cullen the Irishman, Yorke, and Williams, promising great rewards, and giving them instructions how they shuld behave themselves upon the landing, for the better accomplishing thereof; but the end was, that after having confessed all the circumstances of this hateful act, and the names and meanes of them that laboured them thereunto, and cursed the authors and contrivers of the horrible treason by them intended, they ended their lives at Tiborne, and their quarters were dispersed about the gates of London. But some may perchance demand of me what their meaning herein may be, or what credite, commoditie, or gaine, might have allured them to enter in these beforesayd so wicked and detestable inclinations? For answere hereunto: first, I told you that so they might be accounted and reputed for great state-men, high spirited, and of deepe action, to procure that reputation and credit, hey care not whose estate of life they indanger. But besides this also which we have alreadie spoken of, they have also farther meanings and driftes, as those that do looke deepliest and with greatest heedfulnes into theyr actions do verily imagine, having by sundrie their proceedinges evidently discovered the same; of which the chiefest is, that as they are of all people living the most ambitious, so seeing this beggarly service doeth not fit their humors, they do feed themselves with an

imagination of the time to come, I mean a Spanish or Romish world in our countrie, at which time, they doubt not the long time of their exile, sufferance, and losse of their livings considered, (for so is their phrase and manner of speech) to become mightie and great men, and to have principall dignitie, swaie, and authoritie, in our countrie. Manie againe, on the other side, considering that the most part of them are but base defamed companions, of no birth or living, and that there are in England many gentlemen of the same religion of great qualitie and houses, that wold disdain to have such mates preferred before them in qualitie or degree; they have gone, by all means possible they can, about with their practises and colorable devises to root them out, so serving their owne turnes two waies; the one to win unto themselves the name and reputation of men of service, the other to rid out of the waie those that they imagine wold stand in competencie with them; but (God be thanked) the chifest harm their conspiracies have done hetherto, hath bin to perish in their owne devises. A litle before the comming of the Spanish fleet, they sent their espials, and among them some that were priests, in disguised garments, with instructions to sound the meaning of such gentlemen as they thought to be favourers of their religion, and to incline their minds to the Spanish cause, incouraging them to take armes against her majestie; to which they printed in the English tong many hundreds of books in Antwarp, barrelling them up until such time as the armie should have bin landed, and then their meaning was to have dispersed them; expressing therin many great promises and large rewards to such as shuld assist or do any maner of service to the catholike party, terrifying the rest with bitter menaces. In fine, the whol being ful of traiterous and proud threatning speeches, as well against her majestie, as against all such her faithfull subjects as should have taken her part. Likewise they obtained of the pope and the king, that as many as had theyr voices in the parliament house at such time as the queen of Scotland was adjudged to die, of what degree soever they were, should be deprived not onely of their lives and livings, but that their posteritie also should

bee for ever disinherited and disnobled. The like also they threatned in their bookes, to all such, as well noble men as others, that shuld, after the landing of the catholike armie, persist in armes against the same. But all this, by the goodnes of God, hath but served to discover their wicked intentions, and to animate all true Englishmen to persist with the greater love, unitie, and corage, in obedience to her majesty.

Turning therefore my speeches to you, O unnaturall and degenerated Englishmen, to those whom you shuld obey, trecherous and unfaithfull, and of those that you do obey, contemned and made slaves; how can you indure to thirst after the destruction of so sweet a country, in which you received your beeing, and that gave you nouriture when you were yong? Why do you abuse religion, in making the same a maske to your intended treasons? How can you find in your harts to seeke the destruction of so benigne a prince, and the subversion of so glorious an estate, by bringing into the bowels therof the barbarous armes of so insolent an enemie; who, where he is victorious, staineth the earth with bloud, the aire with blasphemy, and the heavens with his abbominable and luxurious incontinencies? let Flanders, Portugal, Hispaniola, and the other princes of India, be witnes. The old worthy Romanes thoght it the most heroicall thing that might be, to vowe themselves sometimes to death for their countrie, and even to spend their lives in defence of their altars, temples, and monuments of their elders: but you seek to see your country bathing in the bloud of your parents, kindred, and friends; to see your cities, graves, and temples of your predecessors, consumed with fire; to see your virgins defloured, your women ravished, and finally to bring the noblest of nations to a perpetuall slaverie and servitude, yea, and that of the most cruell nation that liveth; a nation not fullie an hundred yeres since wholy they received Christianity, and as yet are in their harts pagans and Moores, from profession of which they are onely restrained by the severe bridle of their cruel and sanguinary Inquisition; which paganisme of theirs, thogh in their speeches they dare not manifest, yet do they in their

abhominations discover the same. If the Numatines, Saguntines, and Nessatians, burnt their towns, slew their wives and children, and finally themselves, rather than they would receive the yoake of worthie and vertuous nations that assailed them ; what shoulde wee then do, whom our vertuous ancestors have left honored with the invincible trophes of so many victories over great and mightie nations, yea over Spaine it selfe, rather than to indure the insolent, wicked, and tiranous government of that nation, whom all Europe hath in horror, leaving to our posteritie after us a perpetual servitude and bondage, as an everlasting memorie of our cowardise?

But leaving this untill a fitter time, I hope that this alredy said shal be sufficient to make you cleerly and plainly understand, that there is not to be found among these dissentions, partialities, conspiracies, and treasons, that sweetnesse, libertie, and tranquilitie of conscience which you expect and looke for, but rather turmoile, griefe, and distraction of minde, with a perpetuall grudging and remorse of conscience, scandalized with infinite examples of evill life, impietie, defamation, and perjurie, on the one side offensive to her majestie and the state of your countrie, and on the other side subjected to the disdain and bitter scorn of the Spaniard; who, howsoever hee respect the service, yet never regard the person of a traitour, as a great noble man in Spaine spared not to tell Charles the Fift, when by him he was commanded to lodge the duke of Burbon in his house at Madryle, saying, that he would willingly obey his majesty, but protesting withal, by a great oath, that he would set it a fire so soone as the duke should be out of it, for his predecessors had not built it to be an harbor for traitors. Likewise when Christian var de Veque had betraied, for a promised great pension, the castle of St John, being one of the most important fortresses for Portugal, to this king Philip that now is, how and with what reward was he honored? Even truly with such as a traitor deserveth; for being intertained a while with hope, till such time as the king saw himselfe absolute master of all, he was then for his paines banished, and confined to the wars of Africa for ten yeres. The like usage, in a

manner, received all his fellows that had betraied their lawful king, by delivering such places as they held in government, or by doing the king of Spaine anie other service to the prejudice of Don Antonio; who when they came afterwards to demand recompence, were answered, that the king did not use to buy that which was his owne, and therefore wisht them to take heed how they mentioned any such matter, least thereby they came to be called further into question.

Not much more pleasing was the speech that sir William Stanley received from Verdugo, who hearing him one day with passion transported into violent speeches against his countrie, wished him to use moderation, for though hee had offended his country, his country never offended him.

Likewise Rowland Yorke at dinner one daie with count Charls of Mansfet, at his house in Brussels, beginning to use unbeseeming speeches of her majestie, was commanded by the count to holde his peace; praying him thence forward to be better acquainted with the customes of his table, which did not give anie man priviledge to speake unreverently of princes. So that (as I said) there is nothing more apparant than the scornfull account the Spaniard maketh of our persons, howsoever for his owne purpose he imbraceth our services. But perchance some of you will say, it is not your intentions to serve him in his wars, or to meddle with anie matter of estate, but whereas hee hath now charitably and liberally erected four seminaries for the behoofe of English students, there quietly to passe your time, and to apply your booke in one of them, not comming among these contentious fellowes I speak of, nor so much as once to think of them. I do not much mislike the simple sincerenes of your intention; but yet if I might counsell you, I would wish you to looke a litle better into the matter, before you ingage your self in any such course. Wise men are not carried awaie with the apparance of things, but in matters that are doubtfull, doo alwaies suspect the worst. The worst wine hath alwayes the fairest ivy-bush; the foulest serpents lie under the best and rankest grasse; and the birdes that flie unto the bait without regarding the

lime twigs are easiliest intangled. The Trojans seeing the faire and fertill fieldes of Sicilia, bended their oares thither, but Alchimedes cried unto them to lanch awaie, for Poliphemus was there. Undoubtedly the love and zeale which the king seemeth to beare unto those of our nation is great, in inviting them to studie in his countries, and to that end preparing such convenient places for them: but I have often heard saie, that the fauning flatteries of an enemy are farre more dangerous than the frouning apprehension of a friend. Joab killed Abner when he imbraced him, and the Syren sings when she allures to death. For to what else can I liken those favours of the king of Spain, than to the songs of a Syren, or to the kisses of an enemie, under which he shadoweth the deepe and deadly mischiefe that he intendeth to our nation, and to none deadlier than to those that imbrace his offers, such I meane as do plant themselves in his new erected colledges, of which (if we were not altogether blinded, or rather cruelly bewitched with some magicall sorcery,) the proofes are too apparant. For if it be for their good he allureth them thether, why then (if they attaine to such degrees of learning as are fit for dignitie and promotion) doth he not advance them to bishopricks, deanries, abbies, chanonries, and other such spirituall dignities as they are capable of? Oh no, there is no such matter, he hath other waies in which he must imploy them, which are such as he well knoweth cannot cost them lesse than their lives; which thogh he shadow under other pretences, yet when I have declared the order therof, I will leave the reader to judge of as it shall please him; for my part I conceive as I have written. First, whosoever commeth to applie his time in studie in any of these seminaries, must promise to take upon him the orders of priesthood, when he shall be called upon so to do; for I assure my selfe, that the same rules are observed in his two new seminaries of Spaine, as were at that of Doway and Rhemes, which were by his pensions there maintained. Likewise he must solemnly make a vow of obedience to his superior, directly and without any contradiction, to go whether soever he shal send him, and to governe himself according to such instructions as he shal receive from

him; and from the same not to swarve, though it should cost him his life. This superior is alwais one that absolutely dependeth of the king of Spaine, as did cardinall Allen and Parsons, who being absolutely at his commandement, and so by consequence also are all the inferiors; of which as any groweth to greater perfection than his fellowes, so is he soonest chosen out to be sent in to England, there to parturbe the quiet of the realme, to sow sedition, to practise revolts, and to alienate the mind of the subjects from obedience to her majestie, therby to prepare a bridge for him, wherby he might make his entrie into the realme, in which action the poore instrument is assured still to perish; of which we have seen but too many examples, and I would to God we might never see more; but that our countrymen, whome God hath blessed with such excellent giftes of learning and eloquence as sundrie of them, would, if not turne the same to the service of theyr prince and countrie, and the comforte of their friende, yet at least not suffer themselves to be drawen into such violent courses against it, wherein they see God prospers them not, justice confoundeth them, and finally, howsoever they be there canonized for martirs, our chronicles, and all the stories of our time, will for ever, to the shame of their stocke and parentage, record them for traitors.

Here now you see the drifte of the king of Spaine in erecting these his seminaries, and to what end he allureth you over; assuring himself, that so long as he can with his faire shewes drawe anie of you thether, hee shall never want instruments to sow sedition in our countrie, and to take upon them the execution of whatsoever his mischievous indevors. Fly therefore from the inchanted snares, you that will not bee transformed into monsters. Those that beheld the head of Medusa were only turned into stones, but these that are insorcered with these Spanish inchantments, are transformed into shapes much more horrible and monstrous; their hearts are alienated from their prince and countrie, their hands made instruments to write hatefull slanders, and defamatorie libels against persons of great nobilitie and honor, yea, and sometimes to hold a dagger wherewith to murther the

Lords anointed, their tongues into trumpets, to arme men to rebellion, bloudshed, and warres, and finally, whereas everie age hath held it, according to the saying of the poet, *decorum mori pro patria*, to be a comly thing to die for ones countrie, their lives (with such furie are they possessed) are, upon everie Spanish commandement, readie to be offered up against the same as a sacrifice.

And this assure your self, that this dissembled Spanish friendship intendeth greater mischief unto us, than ever did the apparant hatred of anie nation else whatsoever.

Bee wise therefore in time, and come not within the fatall entrie of this Dedalian labirinth, out of which only Theseus by good hap escaped, all the rest that ever entered were devoured by the Minotaure. The Italyans have a saying, which me thinks may very wel be applied to our nation, for such Spaniardes as the king sendeth to the warres of Flaunders, because they are needy bare wretches at the first taking up, he sendeth them to his garrisons of Naples and Mylain, there to be hartned and fashioned a yeare or two, and then sending a new supply of the like into their places, he passeth them awaie into Flaunders; and after when they are consumed, for commonly they hold not above a yeare or two, then hee supplieth them with his Italyan garrisons, and so successively seconds still one with another, whereuppon the Italyans have a proverbe, *In Italia gli ingrassano, in Fiandra gli amassanos.* Which surely can be better applied to none than to our fugitives, whom he keepeth to no other end than to send to the slaughter. I could urge this point farther, confirming it with infinite proofs and examples, but that this aheadie spoken may suffice to let you know the daunger of putting your selfe into this Spanish coope; which whosoever knoweth, and yet will go thether, it is greatly to be feared, what innocence soever he pretend, that he beareth with him the mind of a traitor.

Now to the third point of my discourse, concerning the mislike which sundrie of you have of her majesties government, and the state of our country at this present, pretending that to bee the cause why

ye transport your selves into the king of Spaines dominions, who in your conceit are governed with much more mildnesse and tranquilitie; I will, by comparing the one with the other, as neere as I can, let you see the difference betweene them both, and so consequently your owne error.

As neere as I can gesse, this your disliking proceedeth of two points: the one, that your laws are too rigorouslie and severely executed against such as professe the catholike religion, the other, that the adversarie hath buzzed a feare into your heads, making you beleeve, that the forces of our state are too feeble to resist so mightie and puissant an enemie as the Spanish king; whose mightie treasures, many dominions, and armies of men, they magnifie to the skies; and therefore perchance you covet to joyne betimes with that partie which you do thinke advantagious for your future securitie and advancement. First, touching the persecution of catholikes, which our fugitives doo so much exclaime uppon, filling whole volumes therewith, and aggravating the same, in tearmes most bitter and lamentable, to forrein nations, let us see what reason they have. I would faine demand one question, If ever they did reade, heare, or knowe, of anie one king or queene, that did with greater mildnes or lenitie tollerate or suffer within his or their dominion, a sect of religion opposite to the lawes by him or them established; especially the same having sundrie times made rebellious attempts against their crowne, estate, and dignitie?

Let them looke, if they be men of judgment, into the ages passed, even amongest the heathens, and into the present time among all princes of Europe, whether ther be anie to be found that hath dealt with the like lenitie as her majestie hath done. Why then doo they so falsely slander her? Do they not knowe that she is their sacred and annointed queene, appointed by God to rule over them? If they do, why doo not they then, with all reverence and humility, love, honour, and obey her, praying God to convert her, (seeing such is their desire) and not by traiterous indevour seeke to murther and deprive her? They learned not that of the ancient Christians in the primitive church,

who praied for the emperours and princes under whome they lived; yea, and though they were idolaters and heretikes, beseeching God that it would please him to graunt them *vitam proliram, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem denique quietum.*

Now let our fugitives examine the secret of theyr owne consciences, and I doubt not but they shall find them guiltie of another manner of mattins.

But they will saie, shee hath executed many seminarie priests. I confesse in deed that the law hath had his course with many of them, as likewise it hath had with many other malefactors for their crimes; but yet her majestie hath alwaies proceeded therein in so gracious and mercifull a sort, that she hath witnessed sufficiently to the world how loth shee is to come unto bloud, so long as there was anie other remedie to be used.

For her majesty knoweth, her honorable councel knoweth, yea, and I and the whole world knoweth, that the comming of these seminaries, priests, and Jesuits, to reconcile men (as they tearme it) to the obedience of the Romane church, is directly and absolutely to alienate and divert their mindes from her majestie, and to incline them to be readie to assist anie enemy, either within or without the realme, that shall colour his cause under the pretext of religion. Her majesty, I say, and counsell, and all good subjects, knowing this, and foreseeing the danger that might thereof insue, forbad by act of parliament these sortes of seditious people to enter into her realme, or to use or exercise any such unquiet doctrine; limiting therewithall, to such as were within the realme, a time to depart out of the same.

But this lenitie wrought rather contempt than obedience; for these men contemning the gravitie of our lawes, and not thinking any to be obeied, but such as they make themselves, came still into the realme as fast as before. Great numbers of them were taken and emprisoned, whom though her majesty deservedly, and with great justice, (especially the daily mischiefe, stirred up within the realme by their mali-

tious practises, considered) might have executed as traytors and rebels, yet the greatenesse of her princely clemencie and compassion, was so unwilling to come unto extreames, that she caused them all once more to be pardoned, and to be put out of the realme, but with expresse commaundement, never to returne in the like sorte; in doing otherwise, they should not attend any other than the rigor of the lawes. All this would not serve their tourne, but in despite of her majestie, and contempt of her lawes, sundry of them returned, of which some of them beeing taken, have received the hyre and just recompence of their disobedience.

But that her majestie seeketh not their blood, as they most falsely give out, appeereth by her clemencie used to sondry of them, taken by her souldiors in the Low-Countries, who though they were of sir William Stanleyes crew and adherentes, yet seeing they were not taken within England, shee graciously pardoned them all, and caused them to bee set at libertie, in giving some little recompence to those that had taken them prisoners.

Where is then this rigour you speake of? I hope the king of Spaine keepeth another manner of reuell in his dominions, over all Spaine, Portingall, Lombardie, Naples, and Sicilia; whosoever speaketh a worde, or maketh the least signe in the world to mislike his religion there established, or anie point or ceremonie therof, his cruell and bloudie ministers, the inquisitors, cause them without remission to be presently burnt alive; of which the death of poore doctor Augustine Cacalla can give good witnesse. Who for a small point in difference of religion, was, at Valladolid in Spain, apprehended for a Lutheran, and with him thirtie, of such as had given him audience, many of which were gentlemen and ladies, and among the rest the two sonnes of the marquesse of Poza, the greatest parte of which were presentlye burnt alive, the rest submitting themselves, were pardoned their lives, but condemned to perpetuall prison, wyth the confiscation of all their goods, and all theyr life time to weare the Sambenito, which is a yellow garment, with a red crosse before and another behinde, painted

all over full of devils faces; a thing of the greatest reproch and dishonour there that possiblie can bee.

But seeing these, of which we have spoken, are his subjectes, and are of force tied to the jurisdiction of his lawe, howe cruell so ever, I will not heere trouble you anie farther with the recitall of the calamities and miseries layde uppon them from time to time; howe sundrie of them, for the breache of his constitutions in matter of ceremonie, have bin cruelly committed to the flames. But what reason hath he, I would faine knowe, to extend the like rigor and crueltie against strangers, who owe him no obedience, but come onely into his countrie in regarde of marchandise, or other theyr occasions, and nevertheless have beene apprehended, their goods taken awaie, and they themselves cruelly executed.

Among innumerable other examples hereof that I could alleadge, I will onely acquaint you with one; at execution of which, a gentleman of good credite in the Lowe Countries sware unto mee that hee was present, and that it was in manner as followeth:

There was one Giles Rat, a citizen of Antwarpe, and by his occupation a shoomaker, who some fewe yeeres since going into Spaine about some businesse pertaining to his trade, was apprehended and brought before the inquisitors, onely for that hee had smiled at the image of our Ladie, which as they sayde he had done in derision. and therefore presently condemned him to the fire, and with him likewise an Englishman for the like cause, whose name the gentleman that sawe them burned, knew not; but hee tolde mee, that at the time of their execution, there mounted up into a scaffolde thereby two Jesuites, forbidding the people, uppon paine of excommunication, to praie for them, saying, that they had delivered them both over in bodie and soule to the devill, as those that died obstinate and wilfull heretikes.

Surely by these examples it appeareth, that hee would bee loth to tollerate in Spaine anie that should go about to seduce his people with anie contrarie doctrine, especiallye ministers; of which if anie such shoould fall into his handes, it is likely he would not so often pardon

them as the queene hath done the other. As for his Lowe Countries, I never knew but of two taken, and they were both put in sackes by the Spaniards, and throwen into the river.

This is in deede extreame tyrannie, and not that which her majestie useth, who is alwaies readie to receive into grace and favour, those of whome she hath anie hope that they will become good subjectes, and hath, as I have heard, offered (after that by lawe they were condemned) her princely mercie and favour to some of them, if they wold have promised to become good subjects.

O howe different is this proceeding from that, whose mildnesse and clemencie they so highly commend! But it is the nature of men, especially of those whose judgementes are wavering and unsetled, alwaies to mislike and loath those things to which they are accustomed, deeming other, to them unknowen, much better.

But perchance you will saie, that in their so greate commendation they do onely meane his manner of government in the Lowe Countries. True in deede it is, that hee hath not yet planted there his inquisition, though the same be much against his wil; nevertheles if you did but see the manner of his government in those parts, I thinke you wold judge them worthy of small beliefe, that have so highly commended the same unto you. First, in matter of religion and conscience, I doo not thinke that it is possible for anie people to bee more hardly and uncharitably dealt withal, than they are under the servitude of the cleargie, but especially of the Jesuits.

As for the other orders of religion, as monks, friers, &c. though they are exceedingly exhausted by them in matter of charge, as beeing compelled to re-editie their ruined cloisters, to furnish them with costly images and rich furnitures, and daily to supply theyr wants, as well in yeelding them victualls, as in satisfying all their other exorbitant demandes, which are infinit (of which whoso denieth anie is presently reputed to be an heretik); yet all this is nothing in comparison of that which by the Jesuites they are constrained to indure; who have now gotten that hand over them, that the chief magistratships and places

of dignitie are not granted but unto such as shal be by their liking allowed, and by their authoritie confirmed. Neither without theyr advice and councel dare they determine of anie great matter, concerning either government or pollicie. There is not anie mans busines but they must have an oare in it: they never plant themselves in anie places but in the middest of goodly cities, where they wring themselves into the fairest pallaces; in some of them dispossessing by violence those to whom they appertained. Their churches are rich and sumptuous; their moveables and houscholde stuffe magnificent rather than decent; their gardens pleasant, spacious, and delightfull; their garmentes fine and comely; their fare plentifull, and of the best; and, in fine, they are not tied to anie risings in the night, or anie the like hardnes to which other religious orders are subjected. Their first masse doth never at any time begin before eight of the clocke; unto the which you shal see them come foorth, attended on with novices, in as great a gravitie as the pope himselfe when hee is in all his pontificalibus. They are accounted to bee the greatest intelligencers and statemen of the world. They may not, according to their orders, receive anie higher office or dignitie; wherein of all other things they have the greatest pollicie; for otherwise theyr old polititians should be from them advanced to higher promotions, which would bee great diminution to their dignitie; which, as they now order the matter, is of such credite and reputation, that they take the name of a Jesuit, not to bee anie whit inferiour to the title of a bishoppe: they are not subject to anie ordinarie, nor to the controlment of anie bishoppe or legate whatsoever, but onely to the provincial or general of their order, who never lightly comes amongst them, and if he doo, he is a brother of the societie, and will finde no faultes for feare of scandall.

But the best is, to see howe busie and diligent they are when they heare of a wealthie man that lieth sicke and in daunger of death. This is their chiefest harvest and most *opima præda*. Then they commend unto him the povertie of their colledge, and the merite that he shall gaine by dealing liberally with them, as beeing for ever to be remem-

bred in their masses as one of their benefactors. The Cordeliers and they are at this present in processe together in Spaine, about this visitation of sicke men in *articulo mortis*. The Jesuites saie, that it appertaines unto them, because their profession is active, and to be alwaies stirring among the flocke, and to doo good to the world abroad: whereas that of the Cordeliers is contemplative; and so by consequence most decent that they should conteine themselves within their cloisters. The Cordeliers on the other side do replie, that their profession is meekenesse, innocencie, povertie, and to do good unto all men: as for the Jesuites, that they are proude, ambitious, aspiring, entermedlers in matters of state; men of greate riches, and covetous of more, and therefore by no meanes to be admitted to such as lye at the point of death. The matter hath beene much argued of and greatly debated in Spaine. All the other doctors of religion are vehemently against them; and they have bene openly inveighed against in the publike schooles of Lovaine: yet notwithstanding, they are so strongly backt by the king, (whose turne they serve againe in other matters) that howsoever the crie go against them, they holde their owne still.

Among all their other policies, they have one, that, in my judgment, is no whit at all inferior to anie of the rest. For wheresoever they remaine, they take upon them to teach and instruct the children of chiefe men and magistrates, professing to doo the same freely and without reward; wherein they deale so carefully, that the parents doo not account their childrens time mispent; they in the meane time making heereof a double benefite. For first they binde the fathers and parents of their children to be their friendes and favourers; secondly, as for the schollers, they strike into their tender capacities such a reverence of themselves, and withall doo distill into their mindes such pointes of doctrine, and such an opinion of their holynesse and integritie, that the same seldome weareth awaie, but rather increaseth with theyr yeeres; which is undoubtedly of no small moment to the strengthning and the upholding of their societie and faction. Likewise, they have so cunningly wrought, that whersoever they are, they onely are the generall

hearers of all confessions; diving thereby into the secretes and driftes of all men, acquainting themselves with theyr humours and imperfections, and making thereof, as time and occasion serves, their owne use and benefite.

But, by the waie, seeing it comes so wel to our purpose, I cannot choose but tell you a pretie storie that happened lately in the Low Countries:

A marchant, whose name was Hamyel, beeing sicke at Antwarpe of a consumption or feaver, Ethicke the Jesuite knowing him to be a man of great possessions, and without children, presently repaired unto him, under colour of spirituall consolation, laying before him the vanitie of this life, and the glorie of the world to come. With sundrie other perswasions, as of all men living they have their tongues most at will, and withall, commending unto him their order, as of all other the most meritorious, perfect, and acceptable to God, and to which our holy father the pope and his predecessours have granted more indulgences than to anie other order of religion whatsoever; insomuch that they brought the poore man (beeing of himselfe simple) into such a fooles paradise, that hee professed himselfe into their societie, thinking that there was no other waie to be saved: so as before hande hee infeoffed their colledge with his land, which was two hundred pounds a yere, giving them much goods and rich moveables; and when he had so done, died within three moneths after the same. His next heires, by counsell of their friends, put the Jesuites in sute. Against which, though they opposed themselves with all vehemencie, yet to their great shame and reprehension, sentence was given against them by the roiall councel of Macklin Notwithstanding they wold not so give over but by the meanes, aide, and support of president Pamele, a chiefe favourite of theirs, they appealed from thence to the councell of estate at Brussels, getting the cause, after sentence given, to be removed, a thing there unusuall, and scarcely ever heard of before. There I lette the processe hanging; what became of it afterwards I

know not, but by hooke or by crooke it was thought they would carrie it awaie in the end.

Another time, a rich and wealthie marchant of Antwarp, but one in that point whose devotion and scrupulositie over-went his wisdome, comming to them in confession, and telling them of some unjust gaine, with which he felt his conscience touched, they presently (with sundrie terrefying speeches) tolde him that he was in the state of damnation, out of which he could not be delivered until such time as he had made restitution, as well of that confessed, as of all other monie and goods that hee had by usurie unlawfully gotten; laying before him, *Quod non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum*, with sundry other such sentences, of which they had store. In fine, they put the poore man into such a feare of conscience, that hee yeelded to make restitution, if so the same might bee done without his undooing, discredite, or shame. Whereupon to comforte him agayne, but in deed fearing least if they dealte too rigorously and roughlye with him, they shoulde get nothing, they tolde him, that if in steed of all such interests and usuries, with which he felt his conscience burthened, he only would bee content to deliver unto them some such summe of money, as without his undooing, he thought he might conveniently spare, they would take it uppon their soules to see the summe imployed upon good, vertuous, and charitable uses, to the greater benefit and merite of his soul, and as a thing more acceptable unto God and lesse scandalous to the world, than if he should make restitution to whome it apperteined, and had bene by his usurie interessed; where upon the marchant being wel satisfied in conscience, gave them the mony, and they him their absolution. It was a greate speech for a while about the towne, that this great marchant would become a Capuchine, and make a distribution of his goods among them; he himselfe made greate shewe thereof a while, but in the end he deceived them; and falling to his olde byas, did not sticke to tel unto some of his private friends this fore remembred tale.

But I will holde you no longer with the recitall of these their politique and unconscionable practises, which truly, in my opinion, are very unfitting for men that professe themselves to be of the society of Jesus, who being the fountaine of all purenesse, will surely never associate himselfe with deceivers, and false worldly politicians. But let them take heede; for this the intrusion of themselves into temporall matters, their subtilties and unquiet stirring wittes hath made them odious to most parte of the worlde; I meane even to such as professe their owne religion. The Templers were as mightie as ever they were, and in outward apparance of greate holines and integritie, yet for their hypocricie God sodeinly overthrew them, tooke awaie their lives and possessions, and made their memorie infamous. Let them beware, that the like punishment hang not over their heades; for I can assure them they are growen odious to the world, and to none more odious than to some of their owne religion, who do wel forsee the scandal and slander that by their behaviour ariseth to the Romaine church. I could here in particular touche some of them by name, with matters that they would be ashamed to here of; but I am not so uncharitable or malitious as to libell the names of any men, or to defame them publiquely, especially for matters of frailtie; though amonge them, nothing is more common and usuall, than upon the dislike of any mans humor or action, presently to publish his name to the world in some malicious pamphlet or other; upbraiding him therein, yea even with the verie errors and frailties of his youth, if they can touch him with any such, if not, then imputing to him fained falshoods and vilanies, which how false, wicked, or improbable soever they be, they knowe they have customers that will receive them for currant. Yet all were well, so they would content themselves to deale onely with private men in this sorte; but such is their respectlesse, audatious, and unbridled insolence, that they have dared to lift their damned and rebellious pennes, dipped in stronger poison than the arrowes of Hercules, against the soveraigne and sacred majestie of princes, and against the

high and ancient dignitie of great and mightie counsellors, yea even of such as sit at the helme of government; raking out of the foulest sinkes of hel it self, false, defematorie, perjured, and abominable speeches, thereby to dispossesse the worldes minde of the opinion, which theyr constant course in long continued vertue and integritie hath gained them. But in fine, they loose theyr labor, and get no more than he that defiled his owne face with spitting into the winde; or the other, that kicking against a thorne made his owne heeles bloudie. For howsoever in theyr commonwealth, which they deliniate according to the guiltinesse of theyr owne feeling and government, or their Philopater, which name they give themselves by a figure called Antiphrasis: but howsoever in them or anie other pamphlet they raile or bewraie their owne malice, they can no whit at all impeach the honour and reputation of these noble personages, who like mightie and well grounded rockes, contemning the forcelesse windes that blowe against them, are so surely seated upon the safe ground of loyaltie to their prince, and love to their countrie, that albeit they please the humor of a few, whom they lead like buphals by the noses, forbidding them to looke into the light, least they should perceive their jugling; yet those that have anie wisdome or discourse of reason, will the more reverence, honour, and esteeme them, and admire their happines in having deserved so well of the realme, as that therby they shuld procure unto them the hatred of those that are such deadly and desperate enemies to the state, and safetie of the same. And as for some of them, no succeeding age can ever bee so unthankfull, as not for ever to remember their names with an infinitenes of honor.

But in the meane time, judge with yourselves how miserable and enthralled these people must of necessitie be in matter of conscience, whose leader's religion is nought els but ambition, perjurie, pollicy, and defamation. But if you will tourne your eyes from thence to their temporall government, surely I do thinke the recitall of their miseries would rather breed in you admiration than belicfe: so far doth the same exceed the compasse of all their tyrannies that ever were used.

There is no calamitie in the world of which these miserable people hath not tasted; their countrie being as a stage, upon which for the space of this twentie yeeres, there hath bene nothing acted but bloudie tragedies; their noble men and rulers, in whose vertue and courage consisted their chiefest refuge in times past, (when they were wronged and tyrannized) have been murthered, strangled, poysoned, and slaine, by the bloodie ministers of their cruell king. They are taxed in great summes of money, and numbers of their men sent violently into Fraunce and forreine warres, and the reliques of their nobilite forced to go with them to their apparant slaughter, leaving in the meane time theyr owne countrie in praye to the neighboring enemy, their villages flaming in fire, and their townes battered about their eares with the cannon; their priviledges taken from them; their cities, that sometimes strived in opulence and glory with the goodliest and greatest of the world, are governed by base and barbarous Spaniards, bridled with their garrizons and castels, and sackaged and spoiled by them at such time as their paiment faileth. I could at length recite unto you the histories and declarations of these severall pointes heere briefely touched, but that I shoulde trouble you with matter altogether tragicall and delightlesse, and withall, they being so common, apparant, and lately done, that there is scarcelye anie one unacquainted therewith, at least of such as have had anie the least desire to looke into the estate of forraine matters. In fine, there is no face of justice in their commonwealth, the same beeing wholy pliable to the will of such strangers as are governors of their townes, and captaines of their castles. Their commonwealth justly now resembling the Turkish government, where the peaceable estate obeyes the militar, and where there is no lawes but such as armes prescribe.

Their goodly havens, beautified sometimes with the concourse of innumerable shippes, laden with rich marchandise from out all partes of the worlde, are nowe unfrequented even of fisher-boates; theyr trafique ceased; theyr townes abandoned and made desart, of which some are utterlye dispeopled, and in most of the rest, of tenne houses scarsely

three inhabited; their villages abroad burned, and overgrowen with bushes; their goodly meddowes and fruitefull pastures drowned many miles wide and long, by letting in of sluces and cutting downe ditches; the mansion houses and castels of their nobilitie abated and throwen downe; some by furye of the cannon, some by violence of the souldiers, for covetousnesse of the lead, iron, glasse, marble, &c. and some by standing long forsaken and abandoned of their owners: theyr errable ground lying manye large miles waste and untilled, insomuch, that there a man may have as much land as hee will, and thankes withall, for the onely manuring thereof.

As for the poore labouring people of the countrie, (whome the Spaniarde never calleth but Villanos) for the most parte they are all starved and consumed of hunger; of which disease (beeing, according to the saying of the Greeke poet, of all deathes the most miserable) I have my selfe knowen twentie thousand to die in one summer, and God knoweth how many more; namely, the yeere that marshall Biron laie incamped wyth the French armie at Rozendale, and the Englishmen at Oudenbesech; so that you maye ride an hundred miles without seeing of anie man, woman, or childe, unlesse it bee some poore sillye soules that come creeping out of the woodes hunger-starved, more like resuscited ghostes than living Christian creatures: and yet all these in a manner happyer (because they are at an end of theyr miseries) than such as doo live within the inhabited places of the countrie, as the lande of Wast, the Kempine, &c.; for I take them of all the people in the worlde to bee the most wretched and miserable. Over everie village of these are appointed certaine horse men, to whome they are constrayned to paie monethly by contribution, some tenne crownes, some twentie, some fortie, some more, and some lesse. I knewe one that paide an hundred crownes everie moneth, called Turnolt; but they paide it so long, till all the dwellers ranne awaie, and have now in a manner lefte it voide of inhabitants. Over this village and the whole country is appointed a commissarie called Sygonio, for the distributing and ordering of these contributions; of all

tyrants living the most cruel, and of least conscience. Who if they faile, and doo not bring in their monie at the last daie of the moneth hee sendes forth troupes of horsemen to take the best of them prisoners, and withall, to drive home to their quarters or garrisons such sheepe, horses, oxen, or cattell whatsoever, as they finde in theyr villages; which hee causeth, if the monie followe not within five or sixe daies at the farthest, to be solde at the drum or trumpet; and withall, forceth them to paie a greate fine, the one halfe of which hee retaineth to himselfe, and the other he giveth to the souldiers for their outroades and forbearance of their monie.

But the miserie of these poore people endeth not heere. For besides all this, they are forced and compelled many times to lodge souldyers in their houses, as they march along the countrie uppon service; at which time it is scarcelye credible what outrages they receive. They have theyr cattel killed, to the use of theyr unthankefull guestes; theyr corne thresht out, and some carried awaie, the rest given to horses; theyr chestes broken up; theyr goods, even to the verie sheetes, and the tykes of theyr beddes, (the feathers beeing tourned out) stollen and carried awaie by the souldiers when they marche; themselves beaten, and besides constrayned to give money; theyr wives and daughters abused; and in fine, what else is to the nature of man most grievous and intollerable, they are constrayned to indure; yea, insomuch, that I have seen the rude and barbarous souldier cut off the fingers of women to come to their ringes, which otherwyse woulde not come off with such speed as they desired.

Neither is the condition of the poore citizen or townes-man anie better; who beeing constrayned in places of garrison to lodge souldyers in theyr houses, imparting to them the best lodgings and commodities of the same, never hearing from them anie other woorde, especiallye if hee please them not in all theyr exorbitaunt demaundes, than *perro, flamenco, luterano, borachio*, &c.

Yet besides all this, hee is daylye wearyed out with continuall exactions and taxations, as of the hundreth pennie, the tenth pennie,

and once a yeere without faile, the fifth pennie of value of all his goods and landes whatsoever; besides infinite other pillages and gatheringes towardes the making of rampires, revelins, bulwarkes, palisados, countrescargres, casamats, pertayning eyther to the reparation of theyr walles, or the fortification of theyr townes; and besides, to giving of munition, bread, beere, and cheese, to such companies of souldiers shall passe by theyr townes distressed of victualls, with infinite such lyke. I have knowen it, (I speake it on my faith) poore people of Antwarpe forced to sell theyr beddes they lye uppon, to satisfie these tyrannous exactions; which if they shoulde not doo, execution of theyr goods, and attachment of theyr persons shoulde followe. But which is most beyonde reason, whereas within the townes manye of the houses lye vacant and unhired, yet the owners of them are taxed according to the value in which they were wont to be rented: insomuch, that in Antwarpe and other townes, it is a matter verye usuall for men to disclaime and quite theyr owne houses, thereby to bee exempted of such paiment, as otherwise, by reason of them, they are charged with; and that they doo formally before the magistrate, at which time the amptman entereth in, and seazeth them to the kings use.

But besides, whereas sundrie gentlemen, and others the inhabitants of these provinces, having certaine annuall rentes issuing and growing out, and charged uppon the kinges demaines in the dutchie of Brabant, at least to the yeerely value of tenne thousande pounds, some of which rentes have beene by themselves bought of the States General, some lefte unto them by theyr parents and predecessours, the king (without all conscience) most unjustly and wrongfully disanulling the sayde rentes, hath and doeth without all equitie or forme of justice, take into hys owne handes the sayde demaines, appropriating the use, commoditie, and revenue thereof, to the maintenance and keeping of his troupes of horse men.

Lykewise, what bondage can be greater than that of theyr assises, which constrayneth them to paie for theyr wine and beere as much in

equall portion to the king, as they doo to the vintner or brewer, from which the poore begger is not free? but if hee will drinke, hee must paie as much unto the king, as hee doeth to the victualler. Neyther doe they eate their bread or flesh without yeelding and paying duetie to the king.

Compare nowe (I praie you) heerewith, your estate of government at home, and tell me which of the two you doo thinke to be most fortunate. Doth her majestie deale in this order with you, whose government you so much mislyke?

Oh, good God, howe can you be so perverse, seeing the greate happynesse and securitie wherein shee keepeth and maintaineth you, as not to acknowledge and confesse the same! Howe gentle are the helpes and subsidies which shee exacteth of you, without the undooing or hinderance of anie man of whome they are exacted! And, on the other side, how profusely spendeth shee her owne treasure for the maintenance of you, your wives, and children, in quietnesse, justice, and freedome! Oh praie unto God, therefore, that shee may long and prosperously live; for in her consisteth the type of your felicitie.

But now to the other pointes of your mislike:

Whereas the adversarie goeth about by all meanes possible to beate into your mindes a fearefull imagination of the king of Spaines forces, and the daungerous weaknesse of your state, perswading you, that the same is farre too feeble and insufficient to withstande and resiste so mightie an opposed enemie as is the king of Spaine, terrefying you with his millions of golde, and the manye, mightie, and powerfull nations over whome hee commaundeth; I hope, notwithstanding all this ruffeling and greate shewe, by cleere and evident reasons to let you understande and knowe, that the fame of him is farre greater than his force; and that there is not this daie anie prince in the whole worlde, whose estate standeth more tickle and readie to ruine than his; and that there is no cause why wee should feare him, but many why he should feare us.

First, that hee is the most mightie and oppulent prince, I doo not denye, if hee had used moderation in his greatnesse, and acknowledged the greate benefites, which it hath pleased God to have bestowed uppon him, with thankefulnesse, using them unto his glorie, and not making them instruments of his unlimited ambition, to the overthrowe and destruction of his neighbours, and the maintenance of factious warres in everie corner of Christendome. To which dissention, occasioned by his meanes, wee must needes attribute this late formidable descent which the Turke hath made into Christendome. But such is nowe the estate where unto his all-coveting ambition hath brought him, or rather the revengefull hande of Almightie God, which hangeth over his head, for his many cruell, bloudie, and unchristian practises, and aspiringe tyrannyes, especiallye for imbrewing his handes in the royall bloud of his innocent wife, of his eldest sonne prince Charles, and of sundrie other his best and truest subjectes, that hee is in the middest of all his glorie and pompeous magnificence turmoyled with unquiet thoughts, and, in the midst of his riches and treasures, indigent, poore, and indebted, unable to give satisfaction unto such armies as hee maintaineth, to which ende hee is forced to extort from his poore subjectes, and to make himselfe to all future ages a president of the extreamest tyranny that ever in any time was used; of which his scarcitie and indigence, what more manifest proofe can wee desire, than the daily experience which wee have before our eyes, of his owne naturall subjects the Spaniardes, who beeing the best disciplined souldiers he hath, those of whome hee maketh best and most accompt, and in fine, the verie pillars that under-proppe his tyrannie, have neverthelesse within these fewe yeeres, for want of their payment, beene sundrie times constrained to enter into seditions and mutiny against their generall in the Low Countries some five or sixe yeeres since. It was my happe to bee then in Flaunders, when there were twoo thousand of them that tooke one of his owne townes called Courtray; and in demaund of their payment, the which was then three yeeres behind, they displayed their ensignes, and planted their artillery uppon the walles

against the duke of Parma their generall, refusing to obey his commaundements, and reproching him with wordes of infamie. For remedie of which inconvenience, the duke having no money, sent post uppon post into Spaine; but in seven moneths there could not anie money bee gotten; notwithstanding many and most important detriments hee received by occasion of this mutiny, as the losse of Bredno, the retardance of the intended succours for Paris, the danger of Nienmegen, &c. At length, by the faire perswasions of the prince of Ascoly, their mutinie ceased with the receit of a moneths pay or two, and promise of more uppon their returne from France; which not being then perfourmed, they fell, and that greater troupes of them, into a stronger mutinie than before.

Besides, looke into the rest of his proceedings in these his Lowe Countries, (of which, because I have best experience, I will chiefly speake,) and you shall not finde any thing in the worlde that carrieth with it a greater apparance of want. Neither (as the report goeth) is it better in his other provinces; which verely I beleeve, seeing of all others it behoveth him to use these best, as being his eldest, perfectest in discipline, and best experienced troupes; and, in fine, those (as I say before) uppon whome the hopes of his ambition dependeth. All which notwithstanding, I can not thinke that ever anie prince hath suffered so many valiant men, especially his owne subjects, and within his owne countrie to perish through hunger, or that hath been driven to such strange kinde of shiftes and devises to stoppe necessities, and to deceive his souldiers, as hee hath.

First, the country not being yet fully consumed, wasted, and destroyed, hee permitted his militarie troupes, with barbarous inhumanitie, to live uppon the spoile of the country, to rifle the poore inhabitants, and to constraine them to ransome their houses from fire, and their persons from murther; by the which means, the souldiors lingred in such sort, that I have knowen them remaine three yeeres togither without any one moneths pay, especially the horsemen. But afterward, Antwerp being rendered, and by reason of the generall devasta-

tion of the country, the souldiors failing to finde their woonted releefe and prey, grewe into so great and miserable extremitie, that it was a great matter to finde anie ensigne that was twentie strong.

The Spaniard mutinied upon the staccada, whom presently they found meanes to appease with some few moneths payment. The Wallons mutined in Liefekins-hooke, and the land of Waste. The Almanes went by hundreds begging up and down the streetes of Antwerp, barelegged and barefooted, and in a manner naked. The Italians, starved in their quarters, and divers of them in garison at Bredaw, ranne thence to Huysden, and to other adjoyning townes of the enemie. For remedy of all which inconveniences, he found meanes to deale with the Italian bankers of Antwerp for cloth and silke, as northerne kersies, packe-clothes, bayes, reffuse Italian velvets, taffataes, and sattin, taking up the same at excessive rates, yeerely to a certaine summe; for receit of which, and delivery out againe, he appointed a Spaniard, one Christopher Caræsa, a man of most wicked conscience, to be his treasurer.

Then hee beganne to graunt payments to the whole campe, horse and foote, in this manner of merchandize, and unto such gentlemen and pensioners as were in great extremitie, and had beene long suters; which they having received, were forced for want of money presently to make sale of, for the third part of that valew in which they received it. For, according to the high prises at the which they were rated, and the badnesse of the stuffe, it was not possible to get more; so that a souldier having foureteene shillings a month, received for his months pay, onely foure shillinges and sixe pence.

Caræsa had alwayes his factours and broakers abroade to buy those saide clothes and silkes in againe, the which hee presently delivered out at the first price to the next that came, and still foorth delivering, and buying the same in againe, for the third part of the price, insomuch, that with tenne thousand poundes disbursed, it is probable, that hee made payment of above a hundred thousand pounds in the yeere;

and yet sometimes he would make them stay foure or five monethes before hee would deliver them cloth, or any contentment at all. Within a while after, he would many times never trouble himselfe with the delivery of the cloth, but by a second, cause the suiters lyberansa to be bought, as in the yeere of our Lord 1589 sir William Stanley, before his departure thence into Spaine, had obtained a lyberansa in cloth for twoo monethes pay for his regiment, amounting unto twoo thousand and five hundred crownes, the payment whereof being above a yeere deferred, an agent of his, after his departure, was faine to sell it for seven hundred and fiftie crownes, and yet thought that hee had therein made a good bargaine. I have knowen sundry that have solde such their lyberansaes for eight and twentie and thirtie in the hundred; yet this payment, how badde soever, hath somewhat contented the souldiors foure or five years, rather having that than nothing. But now also the same is dryed up and vanished; for the marchantes utterly refused to furnish the king with any more wares, both because the summe wherein hee stoode already indebted unto them amounted unto an excessive matter, as also, that hee beganne to wrangle with them about the interest, of the which hee craved moderation; and the rather, because they sawe before their eyes many fresh presidentes of men that were undone and dishonoured, such as hee had dealt withall. Amongst the rest, one Simon Sweres, a Portuguise merchant, greatly respected in Antwep, as well for the wealth and credit which hee possessed, as also for the sinceritie and uprightnesse with which hee handled the duke of Parma, seeing, after the reduction of Antwerp, the passage of the river shutte up, and the country and townes, as likewise his army, afflicted with great dearth and scarcitie of corne, (rye being then in Antwerp about foure and fortie shillings the vierendall) and withall, being daily cried uppon by Trynquart the maunager of the vivres, for munition and corne to victuall the campe, the olde store being cleane consumed, knew no other meanes than to deale earnestly with this Simon Sweres, and other merchants that had trade

with Hamborough, Lubecke, and the Easterlings, which countries were replenished with corne, to make some adventure thither to the releefe of their present extremitie.

He among the rest shewed himselfe not unwilling to enter into an action so charitable and vertuous, so that his paines might be requited, and hee sufficiently warranted, and kept free from such danger as might ensue, either by perill of sea, taking of the enemies, or losse in the same when as it shoulde come.

To this end the duke procured him the kings letters of assurannce in the most ample maner possible, encouraging him with faire wordes, and many promises, to proceede, which hee did with the adventure of the most part of his credit and goods, insomuch that he laded three shippes, of which one was by tempest scatered from the rest, and driven on the coast of Scotland, where it perisht; the other two, after many casualties and dangers, arrived safe at Dungnergne; but at that time, such was either his ill luck, or the countries good luck, that upon a new plentiful yere, they had such store of corne, that the price thereof abated from forty foure shillings to six shillings the vierendall; at which price the kings officers having made their provision, and furnished their store, utterly refused to take that which arrived in the ships of Simon Sweres, wrangling with him about the goodnesse thereof, and the long stay which his factors had made; whereby the poore man making sute unto the king, by one whome he presently dispatched into Spaine, was forced to keepe the same so long upon his owne hands, that it venowed and waxed mustie, in such sorte, that hee was faine to throwe the greatest part thereof away, without ever to this day being able to receive of the king one penie of recompence, insomuch, that he was constrained by reason of this, and other losses happening by the occasion thereof, to the wonderful shame, griefe, and confusion of him, his wife, his children, and his friends, having before time lived in as great magnificence and good respected sort as any merchant in the towne, to breake bankerout; and I saw him at Brus-

sels, suing to the duke and to the privie counsell for a protection to keepe his bodie from attachment.

But shall we wonder at this his dealing with private men, when hee spared not in these reckonings of mony to deale as bitterly with the duke of Parma himselfe? the unkindnesse of which was the greater, in regarde that the noblenesse of the partie to whome he used it, and the nearnesse to himselfe in blood, being his owne nephew, seemed even in honour unfit for the receit of so unrespectfull a message. For whereas the duke of Parma, not long before his death, had borrowed 30,000 crowns of the bankers of Antwerp, to stoppe therewith a sodaine extreame necessitie that concerned exceedingly the kings service, and had for the payment thereof interposed his owne credite and assuraunce, which otherwise they refused to lend him, in regard of the kings ill correspondence in their former recknings: upon the next comming down of the kings mony into Flaunders, the duke caused the said sum, with the interest thereof, to be, according to his promise, paid to the merchants; whereupon the treasurer-generall advertising the king his master of the late summe received, and withall, of the deduction made by the duke of Parma for satisfaction and payment of the Italian bankers, the king presently wrote downe a letter unto the duke of Parma, full of the bitterest and disgracefullest reprehensions that possibly might be; amongest the rest, wondering howe hee dared presume to turne such money to satisfaction of merchants, as hee had appointed unto the maintenance of his armie, commaunding him from thence forward not to arrogate unto himselfe so great an authoritie as to dispose his money to any other uses than such as hee shoulde ordaine them for; and withall, rebuking the treasurer-generall for delivering the said summe, directly charging him, not to do the like at any time without his especiall warrant. Which undeserved indignitie did so much greeve the duke, chiefly, being guiltie too himselfe of the well employment thereof, and of his many notable and faithfull services, that hee shutte him selfe up for many days into his chamber, ful

of the extremest melancholy that might be; the cause whereof beeing by the worlde wondered at, his inward favourites did not sticke to publish the same, in manner and forme as you see it here described.

Other men may heereof imagine as they please; but surely I cannot be perswaded, but this his unroyall dealing proceedeth directly from a meere disabilitie and unablenesse that hee findeth in himselfe to supply the infinite charges of the many great enterprises with which hee hath intangled himselfe; of which if you desire to have better experience, looke but into the office of his treasure at Brusselles, and I doubt not but you wil confirme my opinion. There you shal see a miserable troupe of suters with lyberansaes in their handes, some of the which have lost a legge or an arme, some, that wearied with the warres, and pretending either age or infirmities, have gotten their licences and pasportes to departe into their countries, some alledging one cause, and some another; but in fine, no one of them all in lesse than two or three yeeres following him able to get a peny, so that there is no yeere but a great number of them die for hunger, yea and some of them even at his gates. I assure you on my credite, I have knowen some poore people, that for the summe of sixe pounds have followed him three yeeres; when eyther hee goeth out or commeth in to his house, he is faine to goe through gardeins and bie-wayes to deceive his poore suters, who, otherwise enraged with desperate necessitie, did assaile him, though in vaine, with such lamentable and ruefull cries, that it woulde pearce any honest mannes heart to heare them.

But heere by the way I thinke it not amisse to tel you two prety jests that happened at Brussels whiles I was there, in the yeare of our Lorde 1590, the one of a Spanish, and the other of a Sycilian souldier, either of which practised his wit upon John de Lasture the kings treasurer, to the obtaining of a little money, for the which they had a long time followed in vaine. The Spaniard getteth him to the gardian of the Gray Friers in Brusselles, professing with a marvellous contrition and remorce of conscience, an exceeding zeale and inclination to enter into religion, praying him in Christian charitie not to refuse to receive

him, seeing it had nowe pleased God to touch his heart with so godly and zealous a desire; in fine, hee used such perswasive speeches that the gardian was contented presently to admit him, and withal, to alow him a time of probation; after the which, if in the meane time hee did not mislike of their orders, nor they of his behaviour, hee promised to accept him into their fraternitie. Presently a friers long coate with a cowle was given him; which, after hee had worne three or foure dayes, and learned the behaviour thereto belonging, he acquainted the gardian with certaine debts that he had in the towne, wherwith his conscience was greatly burthened; mary withall, that hee had a lyberansa able to discharge them, and overplus besides remaining, which hee meant to bestow upon the cloister, if that the treasurer would be so favourable unto him as to pay the same; to which end hee requested the gardian to accompany him, and to helpe to intreate the treasurer in that behalfe, to which hee consented; and being both admitted to the presence of the treasurer, the new converted brother, first with a friers ducke lowe to the ground, then with a very reverent gesture and humble speech, told him, that he came not now as in former time to importunate him for money, but only to signifie to his lordship, the grace the which it had pleased God by his holy spirit to work in him, praying him from hence forward to continue his good lord and patron, as hee woulde for ever in his spirituall function remaine his oratour and bedseman: mary withal, that the debts which hee had made during his time of being a suter, laie heavie upon his conscience; and withall, his creditors came clamorously to the cloister, in such sorte, that the gardian there present had threatened to expell him the house, unlesse hee tooke present order for their satisfaction; which, as it could not but bee greatly to his bodily shame, even so might it also turne to the destruction of his soule, if hee shoulde be now againe thrust into the wandering courses of the worlde, which of necessitie hee must bee, unlesse it would please his lordship to bee good unto him, and to cause his poore lyberansa to bee payed: and therewith wiping his eyes, as though hee had wept, made an other lowe reverence, neither was the

gardian behinde to confirme his speeches, and earnestly in his behalfe to entreate the treasurer; who at the generall request of the standers by, as also that hee felt his owne conscience beginning to wamble with compassion, after hee had encouraged him with many comfortable words to patience and perseverance in that blessed estate of life, caused his lyberansa to be taken, and his money to be foorthwith payed; uppon which, with many humble thankes, tooke their leave. The Spaniard, upon his returne to the cloister, tolde the gardian, that hee could not by any meanes conforme the frailenes of his flesh to that austeritie of life; and therefore, with many harty thankes, delivering him his coate, went his wayes to make good cheere amongst his cameradoes, not glorifying a little in the happinesse of his successe.

But now to our Sycilian: he having by many observances found the humor of the treasurer chiefly to be addicted to one especiall Jesuite, above any other of the colledge, as both beeing his ghostly father, as also otherwise of very private conversation with him; and finding the Jesuite one day hearing of confessions in the church of their colledge, according as their custome is, kneeled downe, and when his turne came uttered his confession, in the end whereof he interrupted his speeches with many sighes, as though there were something hanging in his teeth, that he was loath to commit to the utterance of his tongue; which the Jesuite perceiving, with many protestations and assurances, both of his comfort and counsell, encouraged and perswaded him to reveale it, insomuch, that after a long shew of great unwillingnesse and drawing backe, hee told him that he had made a solemne othe and vow to kill John de Lasture the kings high treasurer, moved thereunto by a violent dispaire, whereunto his extreame and rigorous dealing had driven him. The Jesuite, amazed at so strange a speech, failed not to tell him, that the observation of such a vow was much more wicked than the breach thereof; and withall, that the performance would procure both his bodies death and his soules damnation. The souldier replied, that hee knewe his wordes to bee true, and withall, that hee had in his minde already forecast this and much more, neverthelesse, that

his minde was so strongly possessed with this dispairefull and dreadfull resolution, that it was not in his power to withdrawe his thoughts from the desire to accomplish it. Whereupon the Jesuite seeing that it was not in his force to divert him from that, upon which, to his seeming, his minde had so fully resolved, requested him yet, that hee would the next morning at eight of the clocke meet him in the same place againe, and hee would conferre further with him. Which the souldier promising, the Jesuite presently repaired to the treasurer, and after his solemne oath taken never to prosecute any thing against the fellow, acquainted him with what had happened, forgetting not withall to dilate much of the wilde countenance and amazed gesture of the fellow, and therefore wished him, not by any means to hazard a thing of so great valew as his life uppon the frantieke resolution of a desperate souldier. The treasurer not daring to apprehend the fellowe, lest thereupon danger might have ensued to the Jesuite for revealing a thing uttered in confession, and withall restrained by his oathe, requested him to bring him with him the next morning, which the Jesuite not failing to doe, they found a fellow ready in the hall to receive them with money, who taking the souldiers lyberansa, gave him presently satisfaction, which was of such vertue, that it assoiled him of his vow.

In fine, you may see that these are no great tokens of that bottomlesse plenty which they speake of, when poore men that have spent their yeeres and their blood in his service, must be driven to use such dishonest sleights and cousoning devises for the obtaining of their money. Neither (as I heare) is the matter much better in Spaine it self, even there where the storehouse of his treasure is. For I my self have seene many comming thence poore and penylesse, cursing their journey, and denied the suites they went for. And withall, I heard not long agone a gentleman of good sort and judgement say, that it was his happe to be in Spaine, at such time as sundry of those Spaniards that had bin prisoners here in England, after the overthrow of their armada, arrived there poore and miserable, where he saw great troups

of them suing in the court for some small reliefe, but to so small purpose, that he heard divers of them exclaime, even afore the secretaries doore, and wish themselves in England againe, for there they had meat, and drinke, and lodging, whereas in their own country they could not get any. The sight of this hard and beggarly usage, but especially the feeling of that which they themselves received, have made many great and worthy souldiers to abandon him with mighty discontentments, as amongst the rest John Baptista de Monte, and Camillo de Monte, two notable captaines, both now retained under two mighty states, the one being generall to the duke of Florence, the other bearing like charge under the Venetians, who both lie in awaite to crie quittance with him.

And if report be true, I hope ere it be long we shall heare that they have accomplished their desire; for they say these two states beginne to shuffle the cardes, which if it be so, it is very likely that they will deale the king of Spaine but an ill game. Once it is certaine, that the duke of Florence his brave bastard brother, Don John de Medicis, who had a pension of foure hundred crownes by the yeere from the king of Spaine, hath sent him backe both his pension and his pattent; and hee raiseth troupes of horsemen, but to what end and purpose, the sequele will shew.

As for the Venetians, their embassadour resident in the French kings court, and their apparant favours doone him from time to time, sufficiently declareth their affections unto the other side. But these things being above my reach, I will leave them to their succesSe, and so returne to my matter.

Sundry of you have knowen, and scarcely anie but hath heard of that renowned Germane sir Martine Skinke, a man both in courage of attempting, and judgement in directing and managing matters of warre, scarcely second to any captaine of our time. The storie of his life and fall is as common as pitifull, and therefore I will not trouble you with the rehearsall of it, neyther is it incident unto the matter I entreate of; onely I will briefly acquaint you with some part of his de-

serts, and the recompence which hee in fine receyved, to the ende that you may the better judge what rewarde or advancement after long deserving and infinite merites is in this penurious service to bee expected. First, after the memorable siege of Mastricht, uppon the last departure of the Spaniardes out of the Low Countries, according to the capitulation betwene the king and the provinces of Henalt and Artoys, who thereupon putte themselves in the kings obedience, whereas the duke of Parma serving himselfe in his warres, only of the Wallons of the country, and a few Italian horsemen, was daily overtopped by the prince of Orange and the French, not knowing scarcely where to turne him for want of forces to keepe the fielde, Skinke brought him out of Germany a mighty power of Reyters, which, comming in such a season, you must imagine were welcome, as being indeede the onely occasion of many great exploites which the duke of Parma happily atchieved.

Secondly, after the siege of Cambray raised, and the towne of Cambray, Lyberium, and St Gillians, taken by the French, and on the other side the townes of Endouen and Helmont, and the castels of Buxtell, Hemer, Lemmicke, and Midlaer, taken in Brabant by the States, the duke of Parma being as much or more distressed than before, Skinke brought him a second supply of at least five and twentie hundred horsemen, which (as I have often heard him say) hee had levied in a manner wholy uppon his owne charge; joyning the which with certaine troupes of footemen, being under the charge of monsieur de Houltepenne, hee tooke in all those forenamed places which the ennemy had surprized in Brabant, and clearing the country round about, did many other notable services of importance. But to be short, it was at last his chaunce, by a trecherous plot that was laide for him, to fall into his enemies handes, and to bee carried prisoner into Gelders, of which one Oversay, a Germaine, was at that time governour for the States; who being glad of such a prize, in regarde that hee was his countrie man, and so great a souldier, endevoured by all meanes and practise possible to divert his minde and affection from the Spaniardes,

but finding him still most resolutely faithfull and constant to the party which hee followed, hee caused him to bee imprisoned in a great obscure filthy tower of the towne, and withall, set him at an excessive ransome, such as he did think would exceede the compasse of his abilitie to discharge. Skinke, in the meane time, by his friendes, earnestly sollicited the duke of Parma to help him with somwhat towards his ransome; but in fine, seeing there came nothing from thence but delayes and dilatorie excuses, hee used such meanes by the sale of his goodes and the helpe of his other friendes, that after fifteen moneths imprisonment hee procured his liberty, and came directly to the duke of Parma, lying then at the siege before Antwerp, at a place called Beuer, where it was my chance to see him a long suter, without obtaining any the least helpe at all, such was at that time the dukes necessitie; insomuch I assure you, that I have heard Skinke earnestly protest, that hee had not in his purse wherewithall to buy him so much as a paire of shooes (for those were his very wordes); neyther had hee knowen where to have gotten meate or drinke, but that by good happe hee mette there with Chenows, a Germane, to whome he was much beholding for releefe in these great extremities. In fine, seeing no money was to be gotten, hee desired the governement of Nieumegen, the which by a devise of his plotting was newly rendered; nevertheless he was denyed, and the same given to monsieur de Haultpenne. Then he desired the kings commission to levy a standing regiment of Dutch footemen, that likewise was denied. Lastly, to stoppe his mouth, he had a company of horsemen graunted him, with which, going downe into Gelderland, hee put himselfe presently into employment. But winter comming on, when all the kings horsemen had their quarter appointed them, for the receit of their contribution, hee likewise sent his farrier to Sigonio, chiefe commissary for those causes, to demaunde such quarter, contribution, and allowances, as were appointed to the other troupes of horsemen; who sent him word, that his company was not enroled within the list of the kings horsemen, and therefore, that hee had not authoritie to assigne him any: where-

upon Skinke went presently unto the duke of Parma, requesting his highnesse to cause his company to bee enrolled in the listes, and to commaunde, that they might receive such usage as the rest; but his answere was, that the king woulde not raise anie other new companies, but rather had sent commission downe to cassiere many of the old companies.

Nothing ever more mooved Skinke than the indignitie of this dealing; and so telling the duke, that hee woulde be loath, now hee had spent all that ever he had in the kings service, to bee accounted a captaine of fryboters, tooke his leave, bending his minde presently to revenge; and foorthwith surprising Nuis by stratageme, delivered both the same, and the castle of Lemmicke, and withall, his owne person, into the service of the States; of whom he was received with such honour as to a man of such worthynesse belonged. I know not what may hereof be imagined, but in common sence and reason, this not requiting the desertes of men of such exceeding value, argueth either an unwillingnesse, or else an unablenesse to doe the same; if an unwillingnesse, what comfort than shall a man have to spend his yeeres and fortunes in so ingratefull a service? If unablenesse, as in respect of the hinderance and inconvenience thereby insuing to his owne service I rather judge it, where is then this overflowing plentie and endlesse treasure, with opinion of which they endevour so farre to possesse the world, as though every man that doth him service should bee choaked with golde for his labour? To what end useth he this scarcitie in rewards and payments? or when will he use his golden mountaines, if not now? the losse of his country, honour, and religion, and the greatnesse of his undertaken enterprises considered. No, undoubtedly, it is meere want and indigence that driveth him to these exigents; he is mighty, but hee gripeth at more than he is able to embrace; he is rich, but the infinitenes of his charge exceedeth the measure of his riches. Uppon the comming downe of his last fleete, he set up his rest, and lost it with an evill encounter; and that not onely his owne, but that also of his friends, the popes, the duke of Savoy, the Genow-

ese, &c. which set him in such arrerages, that I thinke hee will not hastily come out of them.

As for the treasure of his Indies, wherein indeede consisteth the very marrowe, strength, and substance of all his puissance, I confesse the same to bee exceeding great; yet his occasions considered, and making an estimate betweene the one and the other, I account the one (as I saide) farre too feeble to answeare the unlimited greatnesse of the other: and yet the same hath beene reasonably impaired also since such time as sir Frauncis Drake, and other woorthy English captaines, have found the meanes to firret him in those partes; since which time the returne of his Indian fleete hath not kept the course it was wont to doe, but stayeth sometimes halfe a yeare, sometimes more, longer than it was accustomed, and yet commeth not securely home in the end: and whereas hee was woonted to waft them home onely with a galleasse or two, hee is now constrained to entertaine a great and mightie navy of many shippes, to his inestimable and continuall charge.

If you desire to knowe what these his great charges are, on which he is enforced to employ them, first you must consider, that hee scarcely holdeth any of his provinces wherein hee is not constrained to holde garrisons of souldiours, and not as other princes are accustomed, upon the frontiers onelie, but even in the heart and inland places of them, as well to resist the forraine suspected enemy, as for to represse the naturall tyrannized subject, who uppon every offered occasion are ready to take armes to recover their liberty, and to free themselves from foorth the yoke of his hatefull governement, as the Indies, Arragon, and Flaunders, will beare mee witness.

As for his Low Countries, of the which I will first speake, because they are neerest, it is manifest, that there is not any towne or castle (besides many forts, skonces, and blockehouses,) in which hee is not constrained to holde a garrison, unlesse he utterly raze and dismantle the same, as hee hath already doone Eyndouen, Terlemount, Leaw, Sickem, Susteren, &c. Antwerp alone, as the case now standeth, being

of greater charge unto him than the revenue which he receiveth out of the whole country is able to defray. For, besides the continuall maintenance of a thousand Spanish footemen in ordinary garrison within the castell, besides canoniers and officers that doe attend upon the artillerie, munitions, provisions, and infinite other charges thereto belonging, hee is forced to maintaine two companies of horsemen in the towne, as well for convoyes, sallies, as sundry other occasions that are daily presented, and withall, seven or eight shippes of warre under the walles of the towne upon the river, to secure the same from the incursions of the Zelanders; both to keepe them from attempting any thing upon the towne, as also from piercing further downe along the river. Hee was once determined, afore the comming downe of his great armada, to have encreased his number of shipping there; and to that ende commaunded the duke of Parma to make provision of timber, anckres, sailes, cables, and tackeling, the which was doone with an infinitenesse of charge; and at length eight hundred Genowes, marriners and shipwrights, sent downe, who were presently set aworke about the making of twelve new great shippes all at once. But before they were halfe finished, (whether the greatnesse of the charge, or what other occasion mooved him thereunto, I knowe not,) hee sent a new commaundement to make onely foure of them up; of which the one was great galeon Alexander, who beareth aloft in her starne a great blazing sunne, with this posie underneath, *Non fert terra duos.* The other eight I sawe long after lying in the docke like rotten carcases, with their ribbes out; in which estate they do yet remaine for any thing I know.

In fine, so great and excessive are his charges in those partes, that I doe knowe it uppon good and assured groundes, there hath beene no one yeere these twenty yeeres, but that they have cost him two millions and more yeerely above the commodities and revenewes which they do yeelde him, and yet scarcely any man contented.

Neyther are his provinces of Italie in a manner of lesse expence, or

greater commoditie unto him; for, besides the strong and puissant garrisons, which even of necessitie hee doeth maintaine in the great castelles of Millaine, Naples, and the many other fortified places, hee is constrained to entertaine in yeerely pension the greatest parte of the nobilitie and gentlemen of either province, thereby to keepe them from attempting any manner of novelty against his government; than the which all the worlde knoweth right well, (especially whosoever hath beene in Italie, or is any thing acquainted with the estate of those countries,) there is nothing more odious, displeasing, and contrary to the nature of an Italian.

Likewise, hee is faine to entertaine continually a great number of gallies uppon the coast of Naples, to defend those seas and shoares from the incursions of the Turke. The like charge by sea and by land hee is forced to bee at in Sycilia, Sardina, his cities on the coast of Affrica, Portugall, the Terceraes, the Indies, Brasile, Majorque, Minorque, yea and even in his Spanish provinces of Biscay, Galycia, and Arragon; as for Navarre, hee knoweth that hee holdeth them no longer than hee treadeth uppon their neckes, and therefore hee layeth on loade there with his garrisons both of horsemen and footemen, as well in Pampelona as the other townes and fortresses of the countrey; and all will be little enough, if it would please Almightie God to blesse the indevours of the French king.

And of all these his garrisons and charges, hee cannot for his life diminish any, beeing guiltie to himselfe of the violence of his governement; being not further assured of them than whiles hee holdeth their heads in the bridle. I will not dispute the justice of his titles, nor yet alleage the pretences whereby the Frenchmen entitle their king, not only to Artoys, Henalt, Naples, and Millaine, but also to Spaine it selfe, but that hee holdeth Portugall, Majorque, and Minorque, the countie of Ronsillen, and the kingdome of Navarre, by meere extortion and extremitie of wrong, is to all the world a matter most apparant and evident, insomuch, that some of his owne writers, in their

apologies and defences of some of his titles, are constrained in a manner to fortifie their best reasons with the verses of Eurypides:

> "If right and justice are to be transgrest,
> To breake them for a kingdome then 'tis best."

Besides all this, his provinces and dominions do stand so severed and disunited, that the very transporting of his money from one to an other, as it is with danger and inconvenience, so is it of infinite charge unto him, insomuch that I have heard some of his commissaries in the Low Countries sweare, there is no crown of his that commeth from Spaine into those partes, but standeth him in five ryalles of plate; so great is the charge of carriage, convoyes, and commissaries, to deliver and receive the same from one place to another.

Withall, there are fewe realmes or countries of Christendome in which hee entertaineth not factions and divisions, and scarcely any in which he nourisheth not a number of intelligencers and spies, all depending of his purse; with whome hee dealeth more or lesse liberally, according unto the place or meanes they have to doe him service; if they be entertained in court, or neare about the person of a prince, able to send him good intelligence, or to doe some notable mischiefe for him, hee will not sticke to come off bountefully. As for example, you saw how cunningly hee had practised with Lopes, that damnable physition, who, like his predecessour Judas, had for money consented to betray innocent blood; to whom, besides the fiftie thousand crowns for which the bargaine was, hee commaunded his secretarie Ibarra to bidde him demaunde what else hee woulde, so that hee would take uppon him to perfourme that which hee had promised; which was by taking away her life, by whome wee doe all live; to bring our noble countrey into such a sorrowe, desolation, and misery, as never anie nation had tasted the like. But it hath pleased the Lorde our God of his endlesse mercie, as he hath alwayes mightily and miraculously defended her majestie, so likewise nowe to confound the wicked conspi-

ratours in their owne divellish devises, and to prevent the tragicall intended issue of theyr most barbarous and bloody practise; being such, as well in regarde of the secrecie of handling, as the imagined facilitie of performance, that of many which he, the divell, and their adherents, have sent abroach since the beginning of her majesties glorious reigne, never any (to mans judgement) was halfe so daungerous; the manner and memorie whereof is so fresh, that the recitall of any particularities would be but superfluous.

Onely let us not forget to be thankefull unto Almightie God for his mercy shewed in revealing it; nor unto that worthie and honourable lord, by whose watchfull industrie and zealous care of her majesties safetie, it was first suspected, and finally, by his wisedome and discreete handling fully discovered; who although hee did before possesse the faithfull loves and undissembled affections of as many as ever did any of his ranke; yet never did hee (although hee hath doone many things vertuously and nobly) any thing that wonne him such reputation and applause throughout the whole realme: all men in generall, and everie man in particular, acknowledging to have heerein received of him a most singular and peculiar benefite.

But leaving this, and returning unto my former matter: it is a thing notorious to all the world, that the house of Austria is spredde into manie braunches, of which every one reteineth the name of archduke.

But in conclusion, their dignitie, lordeshippe, and estate, is faine to rely wholly uppon his purse; for there is not any thing in all this worlde that hee more affecteth, than to mainetaine this house of Austria in greatnesse and dignitie; and therefore uppon the death of Battor the last king of Polonia, hee laboured infinitely to invest his coosine Maximilian, the emperours brother, in the royaltie of the realme, sending him downe (besides many secret bribes bestowed uppon the noblemen of Polonia) with a mighty army of Reyters to take possession: the unfortunate successe of which enterprise, as also the archedukes imprisonment and dishonourable escape, I do voluntarily omitte,

as beeing a thing unto the whole worlde well knowen, and altogether impertinent unto the discourse which I have in hand.

In the consistorie of Rome hee is faine to entertaine a great number of those hungrie cardinalles in pension and ree, as well to gaine their voyces, when neede requireth, as also when the pontificall see is voide, to looke well to their election, especially, and above all thinges, that hee whome they elect can daunce the Spanish measures; in which if after his being chosen hee shoulde chaunce not to foote it well, according unto the tune of his pipe, then presently to remove him with a Castilian calenture; the which is a strange disease, never lightly holding them above three dayes, and many of them of late have beene subject unto it.

This pope doeth feare it mightily, and that maketh him so loath to accept the French kings reconciliation, though, as in religion, so in pollicie and estate, hee knoweth that there is not any thing more expedient and necessary for him, than to have a mighty king in Fraunce, that may serve to hold the king of Spaine some tacke, and serve as a barriere between him and Italie; for his predecessours have a long time since discovered this secrete, that there is not any thing more necessary for the maintenaunce of the pontificall dignitie, as the ballancing of kings in equall counterpoise one with another; which he now, in respect of the king of Spaines increased greatnesse, is not able to doe; and yet underhand, I doe thinke hee could be very well content to see his winges a little clipped, lest one of these dayes hee take his flight into Italie (as his father did) and make him as a private bishoppe of a diocese, to do nothing but whatsoever it shall please him to command him.

Pope Sixtus, who was accompted one of the greatest politicians of our time, liked nothing at all this overweying greatnes of the king of Spaine, as hee tolde his embassadour plainely one day in the consistorie, when hee braved him with threatnings and commaundements from the king his maister. But presently the smell of the Spanish

golde, that certaine of his cardinalles had in their purses, strake him into such a calenture, that much against his will hee was faine to take his leave of the worlde, and leave behind him uneffected many great matters, on the which hee had in his minde determined. So that although the king of Spaine be at great charge with these noble pillers of the church, yet you see that sometimes of their sides it is not unrequited, seeing that for his sake they are contented so honestly to betray their maister. Hee had not manie yeeres since an other charge no whit at all inferiour to this, which was in maintenance of the pension in warres against the Turke. But howe the matter standeth since the late agreement betweene these two princes, I knowe not, but I doe imagine that his treasures walke that way still, for, *turpius ejicitur quam non recipitur hospes;* pensions and entertainements given to strangers, as for the time they procure a certaine hired and mercenary affection, so their withdrawing engendereth for ever a deadly and everlasting hatred. Lastly, for conclusion, hee maketh at this instant open warres with Fraunce, England, and the Lowe Countries; what deeme you then heereof? Hath hee not vent (trowe you) for his treasures? His father was a better souldiour, and a greater man of warre than hee is, and of much more mightinesse and puissance; for in steede of Portugall and the Indies thereunto belonging, wherwith this hath encreased his dominions, the other swayed the mightie empire of the Germaines, and that with such a commaunding authoritie over that prowd nation, as never any of his predecessours since Charlemaine did the like; and withall, he quietly enjoyed the whole seventeene provinces of the Lowe Countries, whome in respect of their great opulence, aboundance of riches, and convenientnesse of scituation, some late writers of great authoritie have not spared to compare unto his Indies; and yet hee never dared to make warres upon France alone, before hee had first sought by all manner of possible meanes to assure him selfe in friendship with England, giving to that ende great and mighty presents unto cardinall Wolsey, and other of the nobilitie, that in those dayes did beare sway with her majesties father of most famous and

woorthie memorie, king Henry the Eight, whereas this maketh warre carelesly with all the worlde at once; but the Italians have a true proverbe,

" Chi tutto abbraccia nessuno stringe ;"

And so I hope it shall fare with him.

Nowe as touching those his mightie and puissant numbers wherewith they doe goe about to strike such terrour and feare into your mindes, I doe take uppon mee to knowe the estate of his forces as well as an other man, and I doe not thinke him to bee in anie thing more penurious than in the want of men. For as for Spaine, Naples, and Lumbardy, uppon which his onely force doth consist, and which are his principallest and chiefest store-houses of men, it is sufficiently knowen that his drummes have gone at the least the space of a whole yeare together, beating uppe and downe, according as the manner is, to gather together sixe thousand men, and those all sheepeheardes, hedgepikers, and such idle trewantly rogues; the most part of the which hee is forced to putte into garrisons for the space at the least of a yeare or twoo, to the ende to fashion them, before hee doe send them to service; for, upon their first levie, you did never in all your life see more seely snakes than they are. I sawe some few yeeres since a great number of them brought downe into the Lowe Countries, fresh out of Spaine by the duke of Pastrana, such ragged beggarly starvelings, that in my very conscience, I doe speake as I thinke, a man indeede would have beaten tenne of them.

As for Germany, out of the which heeretofore hee hath drawen great numbers, and by their good helpe hee hath atchieved many great matters, his usage hath beene so base and miserable unto them, that the olde souldiours are all starved and consumed in his service, whose calamitie hath so much feared and terrified the rest at home, that no prince in Europe hath lesse credite to raise men there than hee hath. And although there were no such kinde of matter, yet they are no

manner of waie bound unto him more than to an other, their profession being to serve onely him that will pay them best; and yet if hee shoulde raise any of them, (the alliaunces of her majestie, and the scituation of their countrey considered) it shoulde be a matter of great difficultie to joyne them with his other troupes.

Where are then his innumerable legions, with which these mountbanke, lowde-mouthed felows say hee is able to over-runne the worlde? Alliances hee hath none, unlesse it bee with the holy rebellious League of France; the which nowe of late is growen very sicke, and keepes the chamber, and every day wee doe looke to heare the newes of the death and *ultimum vale* thereof; and yet when the patrons thereof were in best health, was never of any assistance, but of a continuall burthen and charge unto him. Neyther did hee ever trust his chiefe agentes in this same sanctified societie, nor they ever love him; eche of them working and drifting with particular endes and meanings: of the which I will speake but a worde or twoo succinctly, leaving the rest to men that are of better abilitie to dilate upon, which (in my judgement) in regarde of the practises, juglings, diffidences, circumventions, underminings, treacheries, mischiefes, and conspiracies, that have been betweene them, woulde yeelde matter to as delightfull an historie as hath beene penned in our time.

First, no man is ignorant of the pretention and title which the kings of Fraunce doe pretend to the kingdome of Naples, the dukedome of Millaine, the county of Roussillon, and the cariedomes of Artoys and Henalt. For the recovery of which, still as they have beene within themselves at quiet, they have made one attempt or other. Alwayes therefore one of the chiefest pollicies of the king of Spaine, hath beene to finde them worke at home; insomuch, that though it be strange, yet the Frenchmen doe very confidently write it, that such was his desire to keepe civill dissension afoote in Fraunce, that hee spared not to animate, yea and sometimes secretly to help and assist with money, the prince of Conde and the admirall; although all the worlde knoweth hee neither liked their cause, nor religion: the like they say hee

offered to this king of Fraunce when he was king of Navarre, though hee knewe hee coulde not offer it to a man in the worlde which lesse loved him.

But leaving these secret excusable matters, and comming to open and published apparant practises. Seeing that the last king of Fraunce beginning to growe strong and mightie, the protestants quiet, and his realme peaceable, hee thought it high time to looke about him, and therefore casting his eyes upon the discontented humours of France, hee amongst the rest made choice to use as a principall instrument for shuffling the cardes, the late duke of Guyse, a brave and valorous prince, haughtie, ambitious, audacious, a souldier, a spender, prodigall, popular, and indebted even uppe to the hard eares.

Him hee fedde with money, which, though not answerable to his humour, for to that effect his Indiaes had beene to tithe, yet it put him in such gallant humours, that hee presently reproachfully gave out amongest the people, that the king was a favourer of heretikes, a scismaticke, and a sorcerer, and withall, hee called himselfe protectour of the church of France, and finally, grew to so great an insolencie, that beeing forbidden by the king, hee durst enter into Paris, putte the people in armes, assaile the kings guardes, and finally, constraine the king by flight to abandon both the citie and his pallace of the Louvre. The day of which holy enterprise was ordained by the Sorbonists to be kept holiday, and called the day of the Barricades.

The king was mightily agreeved heereat; but being not able to play the lion, was contented for a while to counterfeit the foxe; using the matter so slily, that hee drew the duke of Guyse and his brother the cardinal to the parliament of Bloys, where with faire and gentle wordes hee so finely overwent them in the middest of all their confidence and greatnesse, that whereas they did attribute all his friendly shewes and offers to want of courage and feeblenesse of spirit, he neverthelesse still persevered, pretending all love and meekenesse, untill such time, as taking them at advantage, he saw them both lie dead and bleeding at his feete.

The newes of which tragicall accident was not so much displeasing to the king of Spaine in regarde of their deaths, upon whom his factious businesse so much relied, as it was pleasing insomuch that the greatnesse of their parentage, the multitude of their followers and partiseans, and the affections of the people considered, hee knewe, that there could not but ensue many great, tumultuous, and in a manner irreconcileable broiles; to which effecte, Mendoza, his purblinde embassadour in Paris, serving for nothing but like the divelles trumpetter to set men together by the eares, used the uttermost of his endevour and diligence, incensing the people to such ragefull madnesse, that though murdering one an other with mutuall wounds, (which was the onely thing they shotte at) they sawe apparantly their owne miserable calamitie and destruction; yet like men troubled with a frensie, abhorring all remedy and cure, they grew from degree to degree into so great a fury and violence, that they procured the death of their annointed king by the hands of a detestable Jacobine, whom, as a late Frenchman writes, they have since, in regard of that worthy exploit, canonized for a martir, by the name of St Clement.

These things succeeding so much to the Spanish kings desire, whereas before, his endevour was to nourish betweene them onely civill dissention and strife, he now beganne to entertaine greater hopes, and to aspire to the very royall diademe and monarchy of France. To which end he caused his embassadour to hire the Sorbonists, Jesuites, and mercenarie friers, to steppe up into the pulpits, and to insinuate to the people the necessitie of a king, especially of such a one as were mightie and of power, to resist the king of Navarre, comming then puisant in armes against them. Mendoza likewise spared not himselfe to broake his masters cause by bribery, and all the other best bad meanes he could; persuading them, his master having married a daughter of France, and his children being halfe French, that they could not so safely throw themselves into the bosome or protection of any man as of his: but in fine, the Parisiens liked better of his gold than his government, and eleeted for their king the old cardinal of Burbons uncle,

and at that time prisoner to the king that now is, calling him Charls the Tenth. But he being neere eightie yeeres of age, was scarcely so soone chosen as dead.

Then began Mendoza to bestir himselfe again, and within a while likewise to help him the better, the duke of Feria was sent downe; but the utmost that both could doe with infinite and profuse expence of their masters money, was to get him the title of protector of France, provided alwaies that the Spanish pistolets kept their course, which only kept him from being discarded; for how closely soever he handled the matter, the League had discovered, that like a canker hee meant to eate into their estate; and therefore, though they could not breake with him, their businesse beeing nowe brought to a necessitie of him and of his money, yet they liked not his intiteling himselfe to Britaine, and sundry other his proceedings, all tending to usurpation, insomuch, that they helde him in so great a jealousie, diffidence, and mistrust, that they woulde never suffer any of his forces for to enter into any of their townes or places of importance, but had continually as watchfull an eye over him as they woulde have doone over their ennemy. Neyther was hee (howe faire a shewe soever hee made) behinde them in the like subtiltie of practise, as the course of his actions did well declare. For when as they were by this king so straightly besieged in Paris, that they were ready to eate one an other through hunger, hee made his lieuetenant the duke of Parma, although hee were long before ready, yet still to delay his succours, even until that they laboured in their last gaspe; and then the great effect that he did for them was only to put a few browne loaves and cheeses into their towne, not therewith to releeve the extremitie of their famine, but even as if a man woulde give a locke of hay unto a hungrie jade, onely to keepe him in life. He freed not their rivers, nor fought not with their enemy, but went his way, leaving them in a maner in as desperate estate as he found them.

The like hee did at Roan, in neyther place so much as once adventuring to fight for their sakes; which was not so much in diffidence of

his force, as that hee meant not with Spanish blood to purchase the victorie, leaving the Frenchmen rather to justle one against an other, to the ende that hee might treade uppon both parties when they were downe. Which being by the wisest of the Leaguers perceived, as Vytry, Villroy, Grillion, &c. they abandoned him utterly, betaking them to the service of their owne true and lawfull kings. Sundry other of them have done the like, and in a maner all, except some fewe, who drawe still backewarde rather through the terrour of their owne dispairing conscience, than in any hope of good successe or fortunate event.

Heere nowe you see, that this French League and societie of his hath not beene, nor is not unto him of any availe, but rather of great detriment, burthen, and expence.

As for the princes of Italie, what faire weather soever they doe beare him, hee neyther trusteth them, nor they him, and the pretences of the one, and the estates of the other considered, neyther of them both is without reason; and withall, this malediction hangeth over the head of him and his nation, that as he is of all forren nations distrusted, doubted, and abhorred, so both hee and the very name of a Spaniard, is unto the rest of his own subjectes most loathsome and hateful; insomuch, that in Millan, the yoong gentlemen, amongest many other pastimes, count that which they doe call *Caccia marrani* not to bee the meanest, which is by putting on visards upon their faces by night, to goe with their rapiers, or good piked bastinadoes, under their elokes, out into the towne to seeke Spaniards in the stewes, or any other place where they are likely to finde any of them, and there to give them as many stabbes and blowes as they can lay uppon them; insomuch, that the Spaniards dare not for their eares abide out of the castle after the shutting in of the gates.

Neither is the affection of the poore Netherlanders better towardes them, who as their usage hath beene harder, so is their desire of revenge greater; insomuch, that whensoever any Spaniard falleth into their handes stragling from the army, or otherwise, he is assured to endure as much cruelty as their best invention can adde unto the extre-

mitie of their hatred; some they have whipped to death, others they have mangled with lingering torments, and some they have buried alive in the ground, leaving nothing out but their heades, at which they have bowled matches, never leaving till they sawe their bowles imbrewed with their braines.

As for the poore West Indians, of whom at their first arrivall they were honored as gods, after a small and short acquaintance with their customes, humors, and cruelties, they were so deepely and dispairefully detested, that there was nothing more usuall than to see those poore wretches, by great companies, to get themselves to the toppes of rockes, and to tumble themselves downe headlong into the sea; others to cutte their owne throates with sharpe stones; some to pine themselves away with famine, yea, and women great with childe, some to take poison, and some to rippe open their owne wombes, to the end to free themselves and their infants from the hatefull conversation and cruell governement of those intollerable Spaniards, whose monstrous inhumanitie they deemed farre more insufferable and unsociable than the raging fury of lions, beares, or whatsoever bloudy monsters.

I will not defile my pen with writing, nor your eares with hearing, their barbarous, naturelesse, and unmanly kinds of inhumanity exercised upon these poor, desolate, miserable, and distressed wretches, the whole world being infected with the fame thereof.

But if you will thence throwe your eyes uppon the kingdome of Portugall, (a nation civill, militaire, opulent, and noble,) with desire to see howe he is there loved, honoured, and affected, you must consider, that in former times of their happinesse, libertie, and freedome, there was never any hatred so setled, deadly, and violent, as that which they bare unto the Spaniard, insomuch, that if any one of them had but chanced to name a Castilian, he would presently have spet (as the common sort usually doe when they speake of the devil) to cleanse his mouth after the pronouncing of so hatefull a word; but being now constrained to receive for masters those that before they would not allow for honourable enimies, nor ever use and intreate according to

those militar rules that the noblenesse of war prescribes, as their battailes of Alnibarota and Toro can testifie, wherein they suffered not any one prisoner to escape unslaine.

Their hatred then being (as I saide before) so great, that it could not well be greater, you may imagine, that this their constrained slaverie and servitude hath no whit at all amended their affection, especially being guiltie too themselves, that hee hath wroong himselfe into their estate, not by any justice of election or lawfull title of inheritance, but by an absolute injurious usurpation, and forcible intruding violence, making the puissance of his army supply the weakenesse of his title. And so contrary unto the testament and ordinance of their last king, the cardinall, and to the great scorne and prejudice of all the other competitours, who were all agreede to stand to the triall of justice, suprized them, and seazed their estate, beeing unarmed and utterly unprovided of all meanes of defence, attending nothing lesse than violence, especially the title being undecided, and they wholly busied and intentive about meanes to cleere and discusse the same.

Finaly, being by violence possessed of the crown, hee presently used the authoritie of a conquerour, and the tyrannicall crueltie of an unjust usurper, altering their lawes, confounding their privileges, and turning upside downe the whole estate of their governement. Their nobilitie were some strangled, some beheaded, some imprisoned, and some banished. Their religious men and friers, such as had in the pulpit spoken for the libertie of their country, were pulled out of their cloisters, some murthered, some drowned in the river, and some beaten to death; and finally, because there should be no kinde of crueltie left unattempted, sundry ladies of great account, for being faithfull and secrete wives to their husbands, were imprisoned, fettered, and banished with their deare and tender children, without compassion of their sexe or innocencie.

Which tyrannicall proceedings, if they were able to alienate mindes otherwise before well affected, what, judge you, would you then do to

those that were already filled and possessed with the highest degree of hatred and enimitie? Surely he is puissant, and enjoyeth many kingdomes and countries, but it hath not pleased God to blesse him with the love and hearty affection of his subjectes, wherein consisteth the true beatitude of a prince. Tyrantes for the time command the bodies of men, but only vertuous princes enjoy the possession of their mindes, which in deede is a much more kingly, noble, and heroicall domination: for the one, every man wisheth his destruction, and gapeth after every occasion of alteration and change; for the other, every mans eye watcheth, every mans heart prayeth, every mans life and living is ready for their defence, as though all their lives, treasures, and wellfares, were in them alone included.

It is in a private man's estate, a thing comfortlesse, hatefull, yea, and dangerous too, not to be beloved, but (as they say) from the teeth outward of those that serve and followe him, but much more in the greatnesse and dignitie of a prince, who should be as a carefull sheepeheard, to defend and preserve his flocke; as a loving father, zealously affecting the prosperitie of his subjects; and finally, as the image and lieutenant of God, shining over them with his heavenly rayes of vertue, bounty, clemency, piety, and justice, and not as the eagle and lion, who being the kings of birdes and beastes, doe maintain themselves by the blood and destruction of their subjects.

In fine, it is to bee wished, that it would please God of his goodnesse, eyther to graunt the king of Spaine a better moderation in his greatnesse, or else soone to bereave him of those meanes, thorowe the confidence of which, his ambitious greatnesse hath set all Christendome in an uproare.

But leaving him heere to his ambitious usurpations, cruelties, severities, rigors, and injustices, and his unfortunate subjects to their enthralment, vexation, slavery, slaughter, and bondage, let us from this hell of miseries cast backe our eyes uppon that heaven of blissefulnesse which wee doe enjoy at home, under the fortunate and happy governe-

ment of our most excellent and incomperable soveraigne; there wee shall finde an other estate of matters, all thinges flowing in plenty, peace, comfort, quietnesse, pleasure, and tranquilitie. Her realme copiously abounding in men of warrelike disposition, of whome, as shee is outwardly reverenced and obeyed, so shee is inwardly unfainedly loved and adored. Her warres are just, charitable, and defensive; for maintenance of the which, besides the trust that she reposeth in God, shee is allied in strait league, friendship, and confederated with the most victorious and Christian king of Fraunce, with the kings of Scotland and Denmark, with the Swissers, and with sundry princes and estates of the empire; most of them being her neighbours, and their dominions united, or not farre distant from hers, and thereby ready to assist, aide and succour one an other in all such occasions as shal or may happen.

Shee, like a princely, zealous, and loving mother, carefully tendereth, fostereth, and preserveth, hir subjects by wisedome and fortitude from forreine violences, and by clemencie, religion, and justice, from inward mischiefes.

If, on the other side, you desire to know how her subjects stand affected towards her, marke then the manner and behaviour of the people, when as you see a traitor going to his arraignement or execution; which, though it be a case of compassion, and mooving the mindes of men to commiserate the calamitous estate of those unfortunate wretches, yet such is the ardent love they beare to her majestie, the jealousie of her safetie, and the hatred to her enemies, that many times they are hardly restrained by the officers from doing violence to the prisoners on the way; and whereas they doe usually accompanie all other kinde of malefactours to their deaths with a kinde of feeling sorrowe and compassion, they doe then no other thing but cursse, banne, and revile these with all the most approbrious speeches they can invent, yea, and commonly applaude the instant of their deaths with a generall showt of joy, with some such crie or other, as, "God save the queene,

and confound all traitours." Flattery this can not be, nor hope of reward; beeing confusedly doone by thousandes of unknowen people, much lesse feare of correction, for silence is unpunished. No, no, it is no constrained feare, but a voluntary affection that must sway in this sorte the mindes of a multitude.

Upon the death of king Edward the Fourth, the duke of Buckingham made an eloquent oration in the Guildehall, flattering the maior and his brothers, and promising them many goodly matters and golden dayes, in the behalfe of king Richard the tyrant. The assembly seeing there was no remedie to prevent the intended mischiefe, did him reverence with their bodies, but with sorrowfull faces and silent tongues, insomuch, that the duke rebuked their silence, and beganne his excellent premeditated tale againe, halfe threatning, halfe begging an applause, but it would not be, not any one that would open his lippes to crie, "king Richard," except a fewe of his owne lackies at the neather ende of the hall, so that (as I say) howsoever their bodies may, the mindes of men can never be constrained. Blessed therefore and glorious is the domination of her majestie the which so happily and fully possesseth, not only the exterior service of her subjects bodies, but also the interior fidelitie of their mindes.

I cannot heere omit to speake a worde or two, as well of the worthinesse and loyaltie of those honorable gentlemen of her majesties court, who upon the approch of the Spanish fleete, presented, not only their persons and lives for the defence of her majestie, but also a great portion and yeerely revenue of their landes; as also of her majesties great benignitie and gratious answere, telling them, that shee accounted herselfe rich enough in that she possessed such subjects, assuring them, that for her part, she would spend the last peny of her treasures for their defence, rather than shee would be burthenous unto them. O happy people in such a princess, and happy princesse in such a people! Here is a well tuned musicke, an agreeing concord, and perfect harmonie of government, where the frankenesse of voluntarie affection

draweth from men the effects of duty, and not the basenesse of servile and constrained feare.

Let athests and traitors breathe out their bootlesse blasphemies, and inveigh, impugne, and maligne against the florishing happinesse of our estate; and let them turne themselves to all the malicious practises they can; the ende of all their wicked endevours will be (like Erisichthon that dared presume to lay his profane axe uppon the holie tree of Ceres) to starve, languish, and pine away with a selfe consuming disease of envy and dispaire.

As for these that are vertuous and wise, they can not, but in the infinitenes of our blessings, acknowledge the mightie and apparant hand of God, which surely cannot be casuall or attributed to the politike industrie of man, but meerely to the mightinesse of God's mercifull working, and to his long and eternall fore appointed ordinance.

In fine, to come to the conclusion of this point, you see that her majestie is protected by God; confederated and linked in friendship and alliance with mighty kings and princes; that shee commaundeth a populous and manly nation; that her warres are vertuous, just, and lawfull; and finally, her successes fortunate and prosperous.

This then being considered, I see no reason why you or any man else should be so apprehensive of that terrour wherewith the Spanish brokers doe daily indevour to dismay the courages of our countrymen.

If it be through doubt that our nation is not equall unto the Spaniard in force of armes and valour of courage, I can not judge of him that shall so conceive, as of a true English man borne, but as of a degenerate, bastardly, and adulterine plant, guiltie to his owne minde of an inward selfe feeling cowardise, and finally, worthy of that enthralled slavery under which many of our falsehearted countrymen doe groane and languish; as one that through the disease, infection, and unsoundnesse of his owne corrupted minde is not able for to take the true taste and rellish of his owne native country vertues. Sore eyes

can not endure the sunne beames, nor false hatefull mindes never harbour true or noble mindes and affections. The poet saieth,

"To him that loves, each foule thing seemeth faire;"

and so by contrary,

"To him that hates, ech faire thing seemeth foule."

If such would but reade the chronicles, as well of ours as other nations, they should finde, that a small army of English men, under the conduct of that woorthy and magnanimous prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Edward the Third, passed in despight of them through Navarre into Spaine, and there, even in the middest and bowels of their own country, overthrew at Nadres their usurping king, Henry the Bastard, (of whose race this man is descended by his grandmother) beeing accompanied with the nobilitie of their countrie, and three score thousand of the bravest fighting men in Spaine; and so utterly overthrew him, that they erected in his place Don Pedro, their just and lawful prince of that kingdome, compelling, and by maine force constraining, the nobilitie and cities to receive him. There they may likewise reade the valorous conquests atchieved by John, duke of Lancaster, brother to the saide prince, in Galicia, against Don John, sonne of the saide Henry the usurping Bastard. Besides, the chronicles of Portugall are full of the martiall prowesse of the English men, and glorious victories obtained in service of their king, to whose aide they were called against the saide king of Castile.

But what neede I run backe into the passed ages to seeke examples? Looke but into the incounters that have beene of late dayes betweene them and us, eyther by sea or by land, and you shall finde, that wee have alwayes carryed the victorie, and they blowes. As by land, at the incounter of Grave, and that of Zutphen, where the honour of the worlde, and ornament of England, sir Philip Sidney, by his adventurous valour, was slaine; besides many other bickerings and skirmishes of lesse moment needlesse to recite.

Of sea matters I doe count it bootlesse for to speake, so greatly and above measure glorious is the same, and bruited throughout the worlde, of the woorthy voyages of sir Francis Drake, sir John Hawkins, sir Martine Frobysher, captaine Ryman, the Fennors, and the rest of the brave and couragious gentlemen, who for the benefite of their country have not spared to make adventure of their lives and fortunes.

But if you desire one example of all, let that then serve of his huge late fleete, with the which Golyas-like hee threatened heaven and earth, and with the which hee thought to have circumvented and surprized at unawares her majestie, whilest falsely, wickedly, and abusively, hee entertained her majesties commissioners in Flaunders with a treatie of peace; to which her highnesse, like unto a Christian princesse, and for to avoyde the effusion of Christian blood, was very inclineable; but God, as hee hath alwayes doone, so at this time did hee miraculously protect her majestie in such sort, that through the great carefull and valorous resolution of the lorde high admirall of England, and the rest of his noble and couragious followers, they were, with a small number of English shippes, so fiercely and vigorously encountered, that their resistance not prevailing them, they were scattered, chaced, and utterly discomfited, in such sort as the whole worlde knoweth; so that Lucan's verse, which in those dayes hee wrote to the glory of our nation, upbraiding the Romanes cowardise, may to none better be applied (in my judgement) than unto them:

"*Territa quæsitis ostendunt terga Britannis.*"

Besides, what better triall can you have of the valour of eyther nation than this: they being thirtie thousand, the creame of all their forces, and about the assembling of which hee had beene above three yeeres busied, yet when they came upon the coast of England dared not to land a man, whereas wee the next yeere following, with a little navie, containing not above eleven thousand men, under the conduct of the twoo renowned captaines, sir John Norris and sir Francis Drake, landed in Spaine, burned his shippes, put his people to the sworde, and

his townes to the fire, and coasted thence along into Portugall, and there landing, marched in his countrey, even to his gates of Lisbone, with drummes sounding, and with ensignes displayed; from whence we returned unfought withall by any of his forces by sea or land.

These things well considered, mee thinketh you have greater reason to hope one day to see English ensignes displayed in Madrill, together with the utter ruine of this aspiring tyrant, and al his followers and partisans, than any way to feare him and his proceedings. And yet there is one point, besides all the above rehearsed, out of which we may receive singular comfort, as that which of all other most deepely vexeth and afflicteth his cogitations, and which, no doubt before it be long, will give us a great advantage against him, and that is, the contention which he seeth to spring up in his owne house; of which I will briefly discourse unto you the occasions, bicause ye shal understand the same the better.

He hath, by severall wives, three children living, two daughters and one son; the son yong of yeeres, pale, and weak of complexion, and not of the greatest vivacitie of spirite, though the same, according to the course of the worlde, is by the common sorte much covered under the high dignitie of a prince.

His eldest daughter, whom they call La Infanta of Spaine, a woman, as by birth great, so prowde exceedingly, haughty minded, and above measure aspiring, prudent in her speeches, majesticall in her actions and countenance, and above her sex manly and couragious: her he hath alwayes nourished under his owne wing, acquainting her, even from her cradle, with matters of state and government. In which now, by reason of her long experience therein, she is exceedingly practised and ripe; with her, what waighty matter soever he undertakes, he participateth the same, before demaunding her advice and counsel, spending sometimes whole halfe daies they two in communication together; uppon her (the youth and imbecillitie of the yong prince considered) are the eyes of all men throwen; upon her depend the nobilitie, gentlemen, and commons, and innumerable troupes of suters, in-

to whose heartes she hath so insinuated hirselfe, that they beare an exceeding love and reverence towards her; many mighty men have beene offred her in marriage; as the emperour Rodolph, the cardinall of Austria, and divers other; but she wil abandon Spaine for none of them al, till she see what wil become of her father, whome she seeth olde, oppressed with infinite cares, and not likely long to live; uppon whose death, her actions and maner of life doth assuredly shew, that she is not of mettall to give place to the young prince her brother, but at least she meanes to part stakes with him.

In Spaine she knowes there is no lawe salike to bridle hir ambitious thoughts, but women may succeed as well as men; for so did her great-grandmother Juana to Ferdinando her father, and Isabella, wife to Ferdinand, to Don Henryques her brother. Having these examples before her eies, she feedeth her mind with high and ambitious desires; of which her pretence she hath made so cleare and evident demonstrations, that her father, to prevent this mischiefe, the which he feareth, hee was forced, not long since, to assemble and gather the whole estates of Spaine, and to make them sweare to be true to his sonne, whome hee presently caused to keepe his court apart, sending him sundry of his counsell, and commaunding the nobilitie to be attendaunt on him, acquainting him, as much as in him lieth, with the managing of matters of weight and governement: besides, it was a while bruited for certaine, that the president of Artoys, Richardo, whome the duke of Parma had sent into Spaine to make his excuses and justifications against certaine points of treason, of which hee was by the duke of Pastrana and the prince of Ascoly accused to the king, uppon his returne had commission to assemble the nobilitie and states of the Lowe Countries, and to cause them to take the like oathe unto his sonne, thereby to prevent as well his daughter as the duke of Parma of theyr conceived hopes; but whatsoever the cause was, the same was not effected.

But nowe to come unto his second daughter, whome hee hath long time since bestowed in marriage uppon Charles Emanuel the duke of

Savoy, with absolute promise and solemn vowe betwixt him and her, to leave her a kingdome for her dowrie. Shee is a princess in ambition and high desire, nothing unequall to her sister, but in witte and courage verie farre her inferiour. Shee and her husband both alreadie take uppon them in their manner, stile, and usage, a state and title farre beyond their dignitie, convenient onely unto kings: Altezza is the meanest phrase that they will bee spoken in unto, refusing anie letters that are not so entituled; for such is the will and pleasure of the king her father. Naples and the dutchie of Millaine they have already devoured in their hopes, which, if her father, at his death, leave not quietly unto them, they will be so bolde as to straine courtesie with his sonne, to get them perforce, if they can; on the other side, the states of Italie like not such a mightie neighbour amongest them: and therefore, to prevent both him and his father in lawes desseignement, have made a most straight secret league and alliance amongest themselves, terming the same *ragione de stato:* in the which are comprized the pope, the Venetians, the duke of Florence, the dukes of Urbyne, Mantua, and Ferrara.

The duke of Parma, in his lifetime, dared not to enter in among them, but was forced, though none more agreeved, to dissemble and temporize for a while: he knew right well that the king had beene exceeding jealous of him, and did seeke, though slily and dissemblingly, his life, honour, and reputation. What his sonne, the new duke, will doe when occasion shall serve, the Lorde onely knoweth; but certaine it is, that the detention of Portugall, to which he perswadeth himselfe to have right, *manet alta mente repostum*, stickethe deepe in his stomacke; and surely, when as opportunitie shall be presented, it is thought hee will make the world witnesse of his discontentment.

But leaving these things to their event, and the better discussion of these points, at which I have but lightly glaunced, to men of greater abilitie, having already exceeded the limits which I did at the beginning of this discourse proportion to my selfe, it is now time that I restraine my pen, concluding, that the fame of the king of Spaine is greater than his

force; and he not better to be likened than to a shadow, which seeming long towards the setting of the sunne, yieldeth to our sight a deceitfull proportion of his greatnesse. The philosophers hold, that there is in all things a beginning, a progresse, a state, and a declining; and that the perfecter their creation and beginning is, the more are they durable, and longer ere they come unto their period. And so contrary; if their beginning be corrupt and unsound, it is improbable and impossible that there should be any long continuance; which argument, if it be as it is infallible, then what shall wee expect of this masse of kingdomes which the king of Spaine and his late predecessours have huddled together by extortion, intrusion of himselfe, extrusion of others, violence, injustice, and most of them by forcible usurpation; but that one day, when opportunitie shall serve, every bird wil claime his own feather, and leave him or his heires naked? In the meane time, as I saide before, in regarde of his many yrons in the fire, the disjoyned situation of his owne provinces, and lastly, the generall hatred that the worlde beareth him, he is nothing so formidable as he seemeth.

But, by the way, I would not have any man mistake me in this extenuation of his mightinesse, as though I should do the same to lull us asleepe in securitie; for there is nothing more dangerous than a contemned enemy; let us rather doe like wel disciplined souldiours, that keepe still good and warie watch, though they be never so farre from the enemie.

I do not thinke that the divell hath so many hornes in his head, and stings in his taile, as hee is painted withall; yet, nevertheless, I thinke him to be very ill-favouredly faced, and a dangerous companion, and able to do much hurt, if a man do come within the compasse of his clawes. It is an old saying, Frugalitie is the mother of liberalitie, and warinesse of securitie. Let not us of our part be defective in contributing our goodes, or hazarding our purses for the publike weal of our countrey, than which nothing is more honourable. Neither let us grow confident and carelesse, in that of late since the overthrow of his

last fleete, he hath not attempted any new invasion, but assure our selves, that he fetcheth his blowe the further, because he would strike the surer. The Dutchmen have a proverb, That when the Spaniard sleepes, the divel rockes the cradle. Let us therefore be in a readines for him against he awake; the which undoubtedly we shall be, and that to his disadvantage, if wee will feare God, obey her majesty, and be true within our selves; from which union whosoever shall dismember himselfe, God send him speedy amendment, or else, as he deserveth, soone confusion. I know this discourse of mine shalbe diversly censured of, according to the diversitie of their affections that shall chaunce for to reade it; but that request, which I did make in the beginning, I turne in the ende now to review, the which is to entreate those that shall peruse it, not to bring with them any setled fore-ingrafted opinion, but, unclothing their mindes and affections of all partialitie, to judge thereof accordingly as the trueth of the matter, and the sincerenesse of my meaning deserveth.

Let them onely wince that feele their galled backe rubbed; for my part I would to God, and I wish it unfainedly, that this poore advertisement of mine might leave as a cataplasme or medicine to remedy and cure the rankleing of their malladie and disease, the which if it may not be, but that in recompence of my friendly, honest, and charitable intention, they shall reward mee with a malicious and detracting censure, I shall not therewith be much grieved, but rather greatly comforted, in having made myselfe woorthy of their malice; the which, seeing they have not spared to powre out in such opprobrious termes against princes and men of auethority, it were folly in me to thinke to escape it, or want of courage to regarde it.

As for the trueth of these things which I have touched, I give them free libertie and scope to impugne it if they can; nay, rather, I wish with my heart, that they could disproove it, and that my writings might bee condemned as false, so their actions might bee justified as innocent, and that therein my countrey might not with the vyper have cause to complaine of the too much fertilitie of her womb, and the unnaturalnesse of her owne fruit.

But, lastly, nowe to you, for whose behoofe I do chiefely take these paines: whereas you doe write, that if so be there were no other benefite to be gotten in those partes but attaining the language of forreine nations, with the knowledge of militarie discipline and the state of the worlde abroade, wherein you heare, that even myself and others your countrymen have somewhat, it were a motion sufficient, not onely to make you leave your countrey for a time, but also to hazard your selfe to any dangers in forraine partes, I have thought it good therein to let you understand, that howsoever I, or any other have profited therein, yet as the time doth nowe serve, and the case now standeth at this present, there is no possibilitie that you, or any other may, in farre longer time than I have spent, attaine to the like. And if you coulde, yet the daungers that in adventuring the same you shall endure, were farre greater than the benefites you could possible reape, might in any wise countervaile, were they such as might answere your expectation; in which respect, I pray you first consider, that when I came first over thither, the warres then there undertaken seemed, and were in appearance to all the meaner sort of men in the world, but intestine warres betweene the king and his subjects, such as neither forraine prince, and most especially our most noble queene and soveraigne was therein nothing interested; whereas since it hath beene made manifest to the worlde, that these warres and injuries offered by the king of Spaine unto those of the Low Countries, whose lawse, customes, and priviledges, he hath most violently, tyrannously, wrongfully, and perjuredly broken, hath freed them from his subjection, yoke, and tyranny, and justly and deservedly for ever caused him to lose all such preheminences, prerogatives, authoritie, and jurisdiction, as he pretended, over them, as more amply appeareth in the ancient recordes of the privileges of these nations, which both he and his predecessors at every entry of government into these provinces, have solemnly vowed and sworne to maintaine all in generall, and every one in particular, inviolate; and, uppon that covenant and condition, they have recipro-

cally sworne unto him due fidelity and obeysance; hee failing in the one, they to be exempted from the other.

Moreover, her majestie seeing the lamentable and most pittifull cause of her distressed neighbours and allies, finding no other possible meanes, by labour, suites, messages, and sundry ambassadours, which shee most honourably sent unto the king of Spaine for pacifying the saide troubles, and reconciling the saide king, and those sometimes his saide subjectes, hath been inforced to take pittie and commiseration of their most miserable and afflicted estate and distresse, and for their releefe, to her excessive and almost importable charges, to undertake a most just, godly, and charitable defensive warre against those that daily seeke the blond, lives, goods, lands, and liberties, of the inhabitants of the said distressed nations; since which being published, I thinke it not onely unlawfull, but a most heinous and capitall crime and offence for any of her majesties subjectes to serve on the contrary part.

It shall be good for you, and all other good subjects of her majesties, to remember, that consideration being had by her majesty and her most honourable prudent councell, of the loosenesse of many of her subjects, and small respect they had to her highnesse and countrey, and as little to their owne safetie, her majestie hath caused to be published and set foorth, divers lawes, ordinances, proclamations, and inhibitions, whereby all her subjects (except knowen marchants and strangers) are straightly forbidden to passe the seas into any forraine partes, without especiall licence of her majestie. Therefore, if you, or any other of her majesties subjects, shall nowe attempte to passe the seas, without lawfull licence, there is no reason why you should expect any other than the rigour of the lawes and justice, and to be holden guiltie of cases capitall, especially such as shall serve under so open and professed an enemy to the crown and state.

Further, I pray you to have in consideration, that when I came over hither, the case so stoode, as al gentlemen, of any qualitie or merit, were gratefully received, and employed in good and honourable services; whereas, since the Spaniard hath professed himselfe an open

enemy to her majestie and the state of her realme, hee hath had all Englishmen in very base account, being jealous and extreamely suspitious of those that be most inward with him, and who, for his sake, have made shipwracke, not onely of their honour and credit, but also of their loyalty, duty, and allegeance to her majestie and their native countrey; examples whereof are infinit, and partly touched in my discourse before set downe.

Besides, there is of late crept into that nation, with a commaunding authoritie, a prowd, insolent, and factious company of Jesuites, and with them a consorted crew of other practising busie people, all of them malicious enemies to her majestie and to their owne countrey, vile and pernicious instruments of the Spanish king and his adherents, who daily (as it is manifest to them that have knowledge and experience of them and their actions) seeke nothing more than the utter ruine, pulling downe, and destruction of her majestie and their countrey: He, therefore, that doeth thinke to live among these subtile and dangerous people, in any credite or account, let him, as hee woorthily doth deserve, be accounted beside his wittes, or else as disobedient and traiterous to Almightie God, her majestie, and his countrey.

As for my part, howsoever in my yoong yeeres affected to learne languages, and to see the warres and fashions of forraine places, yet when I perceived that the matter beganne to concerne her majestie, and withall to looke into the drift and conveyance whereto their practises tended, presently abandoning, and utterly rejecting the merit of my long service, and such hopes and preferrements, the which I might as well as any man else of my qualitie of my nation have pretended, and perchance shoulde as soone have obtained, I made humble intercession to her majestie, my most honoured princesse and soveraigne lady, for my returne, which, of her royall and accustomed benignitie, she graciously graunted: so that, besides the unfained prayer, which I will never cease to send to the heavens from the depth of a most faithfull affection for the continuance of her blessed estate and happinesse, I

take God to recorde, that there is not in this worlde any thing that I more thirst after, than an occasion to make the world witnesse of the desire I have to do her service; and so concluding, I beseech God, that as her vertues are infinit, so her joys may be endlesse. Amen.

LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTLAND,

DURING

HER IMPRISONMENT IN ENGLAND.

LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The following documents chiefly relate to the confinement of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots in the manor-house of Wingfield, near Sheffield, and for the second time in Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, during the time Sir Ralph Sadler was burdened with the irksome charge of guarding her. Of Wingfield some account will be found in a subsequent note. The castle of Tutbury requires a more particular description, which is here extracted from the Rev. Stebbing Shaw's History and Antiquities of Staffordshire. It is situated "in the north-east borders of the Hundred of Offlow, about five miles from Burton, and on the south banks of the river Dove, which separates it from the county of Darby." The date of its first erection is unknown; but in the year 1066, Hugh de Albricis, earl of Chester, was in possession of it, from whom it was transferred to Henry de Ferieres, as appears by the Domesday-book. In a survey, dated the 2d of February, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, the scite is thus described: "The castle, sometimes the lord's habitation and capitall mansion, is situate very stately within a parke on the north side of the towne of Tutbury, upon the height of a round rocke of alabaster, and inclosed, for the most parte within a stone-wall, embattled, whereupon may be seen all the lordshipps and mannors appertaining to the honor, in the counties of Stafford, Derby, and Leicester, very delightfully situated both for pleasure and profit." The honor, according to an ancient survey of the reign of Henry V., consisted of no less than 80 towns and hamlets in this county, 236 in Derbyshire, 37 in Leicestershire, and 9 in Warwickshire. In 1568, Queen Mary was transferred hither from Bolton Castle, on the borders of

Yorkshire, belonging to Lord Scroop, where she had been confined soon after her first entrance into England, to put herself under the protection of Elizabeth. She continued under the charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Ralph Sadler, for the space of 17 years, at Tutbury, Wingfield manor, Hardwicke, and Chatsworth. In 1585, she was removed from Tutbury to Chartley, and thence, in September 1586, finally, to Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire. During the civil wars, Tutbury Castle was the scene of several military exploits, and was finally demolished by order of parliament. "The magnificent ruins remain nearly in the same state as left by the iron hand of Cromwell and his party, and are principally of hewn freestone, with admixtures of gypsum. The area of the castle is about 3 acres, and surrounded with the remains of walls in which are towers and buildings with hewel stair cases, and traces of divisions of rooms, with fire-places, &c. The ancient gateway in part remains, and with the round tower, in imitation of ruins, (erected by Lord Vernon, the present possessor of the castle, by lease from the crown), on a high mound, the scite of the keep of the ancient castle, are pleasing objects to all the circumjacent country."

No. I.

My Lords,*

We are hertely sorry to here, that thes our countreymen should intende to colour their most unjust, ingrate, and shamefull doings, as to the world is patent against their native sovereigne, liege lady, and maistres, that haithe ben so beneficiall to them; her grace hathe made the gratest of them, of meane men, in their owne calling, erles and lords; and now without any evill deserving of her graces parte to any of them in dede

* This is a copy of the celebrated harangue made by Lord Herries before the commissioners at York, on 1st December 1568, in behalf of Queen Mary. It seems to have been placed here as relative to Norfolk's trial. Sir Ralph Sadler was one of the commissioners appointed to try the cause of the Scottish queen; and when, by the intrigues of Norfolk, Murray became intimidated in the prosecution of his charge, Sir Ralph was ordered to attend the queen, with the result of the proceedings at that conference.

or wourde, to be thuswise recompensed with calumpnious and false invented brutes, slandered in so grate a matier to her reproache, whereof they themselves, that now pretende herewith to excuse there open treasons, were the first inventors, wryters with their owne hands of that develish bande, the conspiracie of the slaughter of that innocent yong gentleman, Henry Stewart,* late spouse to our sovereign, and presented to their wicked confederate, James, erl Bothaile, as was made manifest before x thousand people at thexecucion of certen the principall offenders in Edinburgh; but seeing they can get no other excuse to this their treasonable usurpacion and manifest wrongs, yea, such usurpacion and wrongs as never hath ben sene the lyke subiects to have done before, for the first and best of them hathe not in parliament the first vote of eightene of that realme. No, no, my lords, this is not the cause whie they have put their hands in their sovereign, the anoynted of God, most often by his woorde expressly prohibited; a mateir to other princes right daungerous, and worthie to be forsene; for if this in them be tollerate, what prince lyveth upon the face of the yerth, that ambicious subiects may not invent som slaunder in their lyving to com to their supreme auctoryte. Because your wisdomes understandeth well how farre their doings passt the bounds of subiects permitted in the holie and sacred scriptures, and loyall duetie to their native princes in humane lawes, we will not speke thereof. Onely will we playnly declare the very truth and cause of their usurpacion. The quenes highnes, our and their native sovereign, being of herself (as welle is known) a liberall princesse, gave them in her youth, for their unstaunchfast begging, without other their worthie deservinge, the twoo parts of the patrymonye perteyning to the crown of Scotland. And when her grace came to farther yeres, and more perfite understanding, seing that her successours, kings of that realme, might not maynteine their estate upon the third parte, albeit her grace might for the time, having so grate dowerie of France, and other casualities

* Lord Darnley, murdered Feb. 18, 1567.

not proper to the crowne; for their evill deservings, and most proude contempcion, procuring her slaunder so far as in them was, tleing her secretarie (*David Rizzio, an Italian*) in her graces presence, caused her use the priviledge of the lawes, alwaies granted to the kings of that realme of before, made revocacion before her full age of xxv yeres: they understanding right well this to be a way, when it pleased her grace and her successours by the lawes, to take from them the lyvyngs before given them, and thus wise well deserved. When they had herein advised with their machiveles doctrine, seing her soonne an infant not a yere olde, coulde fynde no better way then to cut of their sovereign liege lady, (which, if it had not ben the quenes majestie of this realme her grate diligence,) without doubt had ben donne, for that they understode they might long possess their or that infant had witte or power to displace them: and, in the meane tyme, gatte gret ryches, under the colour of a pretended auctoryte. That it was not the punyshment of that slaughter that moved them to this prowde rebellion, but the usurping of their sovereigne's supreme auctorytee, and to possesse themselfs with her grete ryches and her trew subiects, we will boldly avow, and constantly do affirme the same, as by the sequele doth and shall playnly appear. This shalbe knowne the cause and greunde of their mynde to the quenes majestie of this realme, the kings of France, Spayne, and all other prynces. And as the quenes majestie (Elizabeth) hath wrytten and sayed, her highnes neither could nor wolde be iudge in this cause, considering the quenes grace, our mistres, and her progenitors, have benn free prynceesses. Neither yet wold her highnes permitte them to com to her presence that thus had used their native sovereigne. So can we not doubt, but your right honorable lordships, reporting this to her majestie, we shall fynde her of that good mynde and disposicion to our sovereigne, her majesties owne bloode, that, upon the affirmed promise of frendship and assistence bytween them, of her free option and voluntary will, is com into this realme to her majestie, seing her highnes help that her grace may enjoye her owne given her of God, which otherwise hath at all tymes

founde, and we of reason can require. Howbeit our sovereign had not tyme to have advise with her estates her cause, nor herein to with the quenes majestie. But, in very simple manner, put herself in her majesties handes upon the promisses, trusting only in her majesties honour, which ever hath ben found to others of farre meaner degree, that in such manner have sought in this country. And, at her highnes commandement and promes of assistance, hath lefte the seking of ayde of any other prynces, having no other but her majesties high honour to appeale her cause unto. And that ye, my lords, of the noble auncyent worthie blood of this realme, ar convenit to here and understand this cause; and that your honours shall report the same to your sovereign, is our grete comforte to have good answer, which we humbly require.

No. II.*

The speciall Words in the Quene of Scotts Lettres, written with her owne hande to Bothwell, *declaring the inordynate and filthie love betwixt her and him, be thes in effect hereafter folowing, viz.* †

First, That she being departed from the place where she lefte her harte, it was easie to be iudged what was her countenaunce, seing she was no more then a body without a harte. That if she had not had a prote of her husbonds herte of wax, and knowing her owne to be of diamond, (whereinto no shotte coulde make breche but that which cam out of Bothwells hande,) she wolde have almost pitie of him, bidding Bothwell not to feare, for the place shoulde holde unto the deth; in recompence whereof she prayeth him, that he will not let his hert

* Indorsed, "The most consyderable papers."

† These are extracts from the celebrated letters which are so often referred to in the controversy about poor queen Mary.

be woonne from her by that false race,* that will travaile no lesse with him for the same.

She wissheth, that the dyvell may sonder her and her husbande, and Bothwell and his wif; and that God may knytte Bothwell and her togither for ever, for the most faithfull couple that ever he unyted, affirming the same to be her faith, and that she wolde dye in the same. She prayeth Bothwell to excuse her ill writing, for she coulde not amende it, because she was not well at ease, and yet very glad to write to him, when others did slepe; sythens she coulde not slepe, as they dyd, and as she desired, that was, in his armes, her dere love.

She holly referreth herself to Bothwells will, promising to obey him, and to be at his commandement in all things. She writeth, that she is the most faithfull lover that ever he had, or ever shall have; and that, after the kissing of his hands, she endeth her lettre; praying him to remember his love, to write often to her, and to love her as she shall love him, and to remember the purpose of the lady Reres.*

The specyall Words in the saide Lettres, declaring her hatred and detestacion of her Husbande.

That if she had not a profe of his herte of wax, and that hers were of dyamonde, she coulde almost pitie him; and that he had ever the teares in his eye to make her have pitie on him: That she can not cease to write to Bothwell, though she were going to slepe; cursing that pevish man that caused her to take so moche payn, and wishing that she had a more pleasaunt subiect to discourse upon.

That his breth dyd savour so ill, that it had almost slayn her, and yet she cam no nerer to him than sitting in a chair at his bedles foot, and he being at the other ende thereof: That he was never so gay; and

* In the margin, "By this is ment Bothwells wif."

† In the margin, "Now the lady Reres was her chief bawde."

that he put her in remembraunce of all things which might make her beleve that he loved her; whereof she take so great pleasure, that she never entered where he was, but incontynent she had the sickeness of her sore side, she was so fasched with him.

The specyall Words of the saide Lettres, touching and declaring the conspiracie of her Husband's deth.

How she toke her journey to Glasco, to intent to bring him to Edenburgh; how by flatterie she persuaded him to go with her to take medycine at Cragmiller. She writeth to Bothwell, that being about her purpose, the same day her husbonds father did blede at the nose and at the mowth, bidding him ghesse what presage it was. That she was dooing of a woorke that she hated gretely; and that she flattered, lyed, and dissembled, to bring it to pas. She prayeth Bothwell to advertise her what he doth deliberate to do in the matier he knowethe of upon this poynt, to the ende the one of them may well understonde another, so as nothing faile in defaulte thereof. That she was now going to her fasehious and lothsome purpose, which she did abhorre, and that therein she dyd the office of a trayteresse; and that if it were not tobey him, she had lever be ded then do it, for her harte did blede at it: That she had woonne her husbande to go with her where she wolde have him; saying, alas, she never deceyved any body before! Remitting her self altogither to Bothwells will, and that she wolde obey him whatsoever cam thereof. Prayeng him to advise with himself, if he coulde fynde out any other secret invencion by medycyne; for her husbonde was to take medycine, and the bath also, at Cragmiller: That her husbonde, by all that she can lerne, is in grete suspicion; and yet notwithstonding, giveth credite to her woorde; but she can not reioyse to deceyve any body that trustith her: but Bothwell may commaunde her in all things; bidding him have no ill opynyon of her for that cause, for that he is the occasion of it himself; because for her

owne particuler revenge she wolde not do it: That her husbonde, for certentie, suspectith that Bothwell knoweth of, and of his life also; but as to the last, assone as she speketh ii or iii good woords unto him, he reioyseth, and is out of doubte. She biddeth Bothwell burne the lettre, for it is over daungerous to them, and nothing well sayed in it, for that she is thinking upon nothing but fascherie. Prayeng him, that sithens to obey him, her derest love, she spareth neyther honour, conscience, hazarde, nor greatenes whatsoever, he wolde take it in good parte; and to give no credit ayenst her, the most faithfull lover that ever he had, or ever shall have. And that he wolde not see her,* whose fayned teares shoulde not be so moch praised, as the faithfull travailes which she susteyned to merite her place; for the obteyning whereof, ayenst her nature, she betrayed them which might impeche it; prayeng God to forgive her; and to give to him, her onely love, the hap and prosperyte which she, his humble and faithfull love, desireth unto him; hoping shortly to be an other unto him, for the rewarde of her hirkesom travailes. That, according to her commission, she bringeth the man with her to Cragmiller. Prayeng Bothwell to woorke wisely, or ells the hole burden will lye on her shoulders; and specyally to make good watche that the birde escape not out of the cage.

No. III.

16 JANUARY, 1572.

16 Jan. Yesterday, the duke of Norfolk† was arayned and condemned, in this sort. The erle of Shrewsbury was on the 14 made

* In the margin, "Bothwells wife."

† The trial of the unfortunate Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, took place in Westminster (the earl of Shrewsbury being for the time lord high steward,) 16th January 1571, in the 14th of queen Elizabeth. See *State Trials*, Vol. I. page 81.

high stuard of England, only *hac vice* to try the duke of Norfolk *per pares suos*, upon such treasons wherupon he was indyted. By vertu herof, the erle made a precept to a seriant at armes to summon these lords, whose names are in a scedule, to appeare before him, as yesterday, in Westminster Hall, *inter horas* 7 and 8. Yesterday they all appeared. The duke was brought from the Towr to the Three Cranes, bycause the tyde wold not suffre the passing throwgh the bridg, and from thence to Westminster bridg, by the lieutenant of the Towr, and sir Peter Caro, with vj^{xx} halberds; and so was conveyed throwgh the Starr Chambre into the lord treasorars chambre; from thence, about 8, he was browght to the barr, where his inditment was redd, which was very long, and conteaned these things folowing:—That he imagined the quenes majesties death, and deprivation; alteration of the state, and of religion; for compassing wherof, he had practised mariag with the quene of Scotts being on that had claimed this crown presently, and had not recognised hir wrong, thowgh she had bene therto required. And this he did, after that he had bene charged by the quenes majestie, upon his allegiance, not to deale any furder therin. And after that he had, by his writing under his hand and seale, acknowleged his former offence, in going about that mariage without the quenes consent; and that, to compass this, he had conspired with the sayd quene to stirr a rebellion in this realme, and to bring in a foren powre, from the king of Spayne, by Flaunders, with the help of mony from the pope. That allso he had releved the rebells in the Low Countrees with mony: That he had adhered to the quenes enemies in Scotland by sondry meanes. Upon this he pleaded not gilty; and offred to be tryed by his peares, whome he sayd he did see there sitting; to whome he durst committ his life, and all that he had; yea, he wold putt himself to the iudgment of them all, and allmost to every on particularly there. And so than the parts of the inditment were thus divided. Seriant Barram charged him with the matter of mariage both afore the quenes majestie understood of it, and afterward with corruption when he was in commission at York to here hir causes; where

he did secretly disclose to the bishop of Ross and Liddington, the quenes counsell, and labored all that he might with the erle of Murray to withdrawe the lettres, &c. which were brought to be shewed to prove the quene of Scotts giltines in the murder of hir husband. And therin he was periured; for he took a corporall othe to deale indifferently at that time. There allso he dealt secretly with the erle of Murraye for the mariage of the Scotts quene, and yet afterward denyed it to the quenes majestie with othes and detestations. In this part it was sett out, that he knew the Scotts quene to have claymed the crown, and not to have renounced it, as she had promised. And therfore, to marry with hir, being out of possession of hir crowne, and hir realme of Scotland inherited, and she a person defamed, and all this against the quenes majesties will, cold not but be interpreted to advaunce his claime, and so to deprive the quenes majestie.

The second matter, which Mr Attorney did utter, was his conspiracie to make a rebellion, to bring in strange powr, &c. which was proved by the quene of Scotts owne lettres to the duke. The sending of Ridolphi for that purpos, with instructions and lettres from the duke to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spayne, and his receaving of lettres from Ridolphi, conteaning the answer made by the duke of Alva to the requests. And within on month after the severall lettres from the pope to him self, which he cold not deny but he did receave, and they both made mention of his sent to the sayd pope. This matter was allso prosequuted by Mr Sollicitor.

The 3d matter was prosequuted by Mr Wilbraham, attorney of the wards; who charged him, that he was privie, and did direct the distribution of xij m. crowns, which the pope assigned to the hands of Ridolphi for the releif of the rebells of England, in this sorte: That is, ij m. to the erle of Westmorland, ij m. to the countess of Northumberland, ij m. to the Nortons, and others, and the rest to remayne in store for the quene of Scotts and hir ministers. Besyde this, he was charged with sending of lettres and messages of comfort to the lords of Scotland, that did manteyn our rebells in Scotland. He was allso

charged, that he had secretly given counsell to the quene of Scotts, that she shold never accord that hir sonne, the king of Scotts, shold be delivered into England, nor that the quene of Scotts shold deliver any rebells to her majestie. Upon which matters no answer was made by him, that the lords, his peares, found the matters sufficiently proved against the duke. And so, in the end, the lords being retyred to consult upon the matter, there was no maner of scrupul obiected; but, by commen consent, every lord being openly demaunded by name, whither the duke was gilty of the treasons or no? did distinctly answer, that he was gilty. And so the duke being called, and told what the peares had found, he had iugment given against him, to suffre death, as by the lawes of the realme is ordred. Who, having receaved his iudgement, sayd, the will of God be fulfilled, and that that iudgment was the iudgment for a traitor; but he was a tru man, and allwayes had bene, and so wold dy; and that he wold not now desire to live: but seing the lords, his peres, had iudged him unworthy of their company, he wold be non of them, but trusted to go to another. This he spake with some passion Otherwise truly he did use him self all the day long very modestly and wisely, as farr forth as his cause cold serve him. The sitting continued untill it was past 8 in the night, from 8 in the morning, which hath not bene sene in any tyme. And the cause was for that the matters were so many, and he permitted, with all favor, to speke as much, and whan he wold.

No. IV.

To our right trusty and weillbeloved Sir Rauphe Sadlair, *knyght, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

Richt traist and weilbelovit, we grete yow hartlie weill, having oftymes understand be credible report, bot cheiflie of lait sen we acceptit

the governament of oure realme in oure awin persone,* with quhat earnest eair and gudewill ye have studyit to interteane the gude amytie betwix ws and our dearest suster and cousine, the quene, your souverane, and in moving of her to extend her favoure toward ws, and our estait in our youngar aage ; we can not omit now be oure awin lettre, to let yow understand in how thankfull and gude part we accept the same, trusting that ye will continew as ye have worthelie done heirtofore, and be a gude meane unto our said dearrest suster, upoun the hering of our trustie and weilbelovit counsalor, Robert †, commendatar of Dunfermling, our principall secretar and ambassadoure, presentlie directit toward her, to furder his dispatche, quha being instructit of our loving and affectionat mynde toward oure said dearest suster, and to the conservation of the amytie betuix, as he will mak you mair specialli to understand be speche. We leif the haill to his sufficiencie, quhome we hartlie require yow to credite. And thus we committ yow in the protectioun of God. At our castell of Striviling, the fourt of Julij 1578,

Your loving and assurit freind,

JAMES R.

No. V.

A bref of things passid betweene the Scottish Queen and my Lord of SHREWSBURY *and Sir* RAFE SADLER *syns the comming of the said Sir* RAFE.

Last of Aug. First, the said quenes thanks to the quenes majestie for making so good a choice of a grave and ancient counsellor, well

* In 1577, king James VI., then scarcely twelve years old, assumed the regency upon the compelled resignation of the earl of Morton, regent.

† Robert Pitcairn, commendator of the abbey of Dumfermline, and at this time secretary of state, was sent to England, partly to reconcile queen Elizabeth to this unexpected change in the Scottish government, partly to claim the succession which had fallen to him in England by death of his grandmother lady Lennox.

knowne to her, * to supply his lordshipes place in the charge of her in his absence. Her great protestacion of her good will towards her majestie, and readiness to employ all her credit and endevor towards the king her son, to bring him to depende onely upon the quenes majesties good will and amytie, yf it might please her majestie to trust her, and to make a tryall of her.

That she hath long loked for, and desyrethe earnestly her majesties answer and resolucion upon the points long sens by her moved to her majestie by sir W. Myldmay and Mr Bente. That she may have leave to send one (meaning Nau) to her majestie, to delyver thoroughly her mynde, and to reply upon occasion of her majesties answers, and to bring her highnes's resolution to such things as he shall propound to her majestie; and others: That to shew by effect her good will and sincere meaning to do good offices for the weale of her majestie and her estates, the said quene desyreth to have leave to sende one into Scotland, to treat with the king her son, for the purpose aforesaid; assuring that there ar yet meanes left her to do good, which she shall not be able to do after awhile, for she hath cause to think that he will shortly take an other corse, wherein she shall not be able to stay him, nor to do that good which she yet can do †. And if she faile to do as she promiseth to her majestie, or be founde false to her, by any evill waye, her body is here a good gage to answer it. That the party whome she wolde send, shall, besydes her charge, follow such corse as her majestie shalbe pleased to appoint him; and shall not treat but in the hearing of her maiestie, yf it please her to appoint any such to *be with him.* Her protestacions to be innocent in any practise that her son or his mynisters may go about against her majestie and estates. And that she will never be partaker thereof, but beseecheth her majestie not to presse her to

* Sir Ralph Sadler was known to the queen as one of the York commissioners, a sad token of remembrance! as well as by former visits to her places of imprisonment.

† From the arrogance of Arran, and the downfall of all queen Elizabeth's ancient friends and pensioners in Scotland, matters in that country began to assume a lowering complexion towards England.

leave to have intelligence with her son, remembring he is so dere to her, and her onely comfort, which if she shulde refuse to do, he might fall from her. And then not having assurance of her majesties favour, she might lose bothe. Therefore she must be assured of the that when by her majesties favor, she may sende in tyme to her son, if he will not follow her counsell and depend upon her majesties amyty, so she and he may have her favor: she will take her friends from him, without whome he shalbe able to do but litle. That the strayter she is kept, the more will her son and frends seeke to holde harde courses, which she besecheth her majestie not to impute to her.

Inn talk betweene the Queen and J. Sommer,* *as they rode towards Wingfelde.*

If with her majesties favour she may send into Scotlande, she meanith to treat with her son to enter into a league offensyve and defensyve, if her majestie lyke of it. Therein to comprehende the French king, as he desyrith, if any such trety go forwarde. And in respect of the ancyent league betwene France and Scotland, which wolde be *very* (more) beneficiall for England then for Scotland. (*Her reasons*) England lyeth neerer to such as have dangerous to it then to Scotland. That both realms ar lyke to lyve long in peace, seeing no foreyn prince pretendith any thing in them. That her majestie shall save great charges, besydes loss of many men, which she beareth by the oft troubles in Irlande, where her son will healp her if she neede. Her kinsfolks, whome her majestie mistrustith now as dangerous to her, wilbe her good fiends for the respect of the said queene. That her majestie shall not neede to support any partyes abrode, as the queen sayth hath ben don, to keep her majesties awne contrys in peace.

* Sir John Sommer, clerk of the council.

No. VI.

The examination of Edward Tocky. [*]

Whether is all true which he hathe confessed to sir Tho. Kockayne, or wherein is it not true? And what can he saye further to those questions?

To whome did he direct his lettre and his messenger whom he sent to Wingfeld? And whether dothe he know the gentleman porter of that castell? what is his name, or what other acquaintance hathe he in the castell, Englishe, Frenche, or Scottishe, and their names? and how long hath that acquaintance contynued, and by what occasione was it begone? Whether did he wryt the lettre him self, or who elles?

By whose procurement, and upon what occasion, hath he sent that lettre so directid in such a highe stile to the queen of Scotts?

He saythe, that all is true, saving the last point of his messenger that he sent to Grytche to enquyre there for his kynsman Waldern, which was but a coulor to sir Thomas Cockayn for the sending of the messenger.

He sayeth, that he directed it to the queen of Scotts her self, and bad the messenger delyver it to some of her gentlemen, thinking that there had been no danger to do so. He sayeth, that he knoweth not the gentleman porter, nor ever heard his name, nor doth know any of the quenes men, nor my lord of Shrewsburys men, nor was ever in these parts before. He saythe, he wrote the letter himself.

He sayeth, he was not procured by any body, but sent to her for so muche money as is mentioned in his writing, viz. 100 double

[*] Various plots were always in agitation among the Catholics and other discontented persons in England for the relief of queen Mary. This person seems to have been an emissary of some of these conspirators.

duckets, thinking that she had ben acquainted with his father, and wolde have donne so much for his sake. And, that he hath hearde his father speak oft of her when she was in Scotlande; and that it becommeth him to wryte such a style to a princesse, and that he was going over the sea to see the worlde as he hath done before, and had heard of her liberalite.

What dothe these words signifie, viz. to be receaved of the quens majestie of Skotts, one hundred doble ducketts?

He sayeth, that by those woords of the 100 double ducats, there ys nothing elles meant but the money.

Whome doth he know in this county of Darby, or in any other county to be affected to the Scotts queene, or hath at any tyme sent to her, and by whom and what?

He sayth, that he knowith none in all the shire.

Whether did he, or any other to his knowledge, receaved any lettre, or other wryting from the said quene, or from any of her people? and what was theffect therof; and for whome came the same, and by whom?

He answereth, that he never receaved any lettre or other thing from that queene, nor from any of her folk, nor did ever speak with any of them.

No. VII.

Elizabeth R.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to all mayors, sherifs, bailifs, constables, headboroughs, and to all other our officers, and other subiects to whom this apperteynith, and shall come, and to everye of them. Whereas our right trusty, and right welbeloved cosin and counsellor the erle of Shrewsbury, and our trusty and welbelovid servaunts sir Henry Nevell, and sir Wm. Pelham, knyghts, by occasion of a charge of importance, which at this tyme we have committed to them, may have cause to use your service, and travell for the speedye provyding of dyvers things, for the furtherance of this service, *(carriages, rode horses, and other necessaries:)* We will, and straightly charge and command you, and every of you, that so soone as our said cosin and servants, or any of them, shall by their wryting or messenger, bringing these presents unto yow, yow faile not to provyde, send, and delyver at their appointment, so many good caryages, and rode horses, and furniture, and also vitell of all kinds to be by you caryed to suche places, and for such purposes, as they and every of them shall requyre at our reasonable prices. And also, that upon lyke warning, you shall keepe watch and ward by day and by night, by some of your selfs our said officers, assistid with so many of our good subiects within your severall charges, in such places, and at such tymes, as they or any of them shall appoint, *untill we shall revoke this our commission, by the order of our said cosin and others above mencionid,* or by any of them. Herof faile ye not, as ye will answer for your slackness in this behalf at your uttermost perills. Geven under our signet at our pallaice of Westminster, the 16th of January 1580, in the 23d yere of our reign.

Endorsed, "The old commission."—Sealed.

No. VIII.

To our trusty and welbeloved Sir John Souche, *Knyght, Sherif of our county of Derby.*

Elizabeth R. By the Queene.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greete yow well: Whereas we have now appointed a speciall service of great importance, to be done by our right trusty and right welbelovid cosin and counsellor the erle of Shrewsbury, and by our trusty and welbelovid servaunts, sir Rafe Sadler, and sir Henry Nevell, knights, for the better perfourminge whereof they may have occasion to use your assistance as sherif of our county of Derby; our will and pleasure is, that if our said cosin and servants, or any of them, shall by them selfs, or by their lettres, joint or several, or by speciall messenger bearer hereof, require your presence and ayde, yow shall furthwith upon such significacion, resort to suche place, so accompanyed, and for suche tyme and causes, as they or either of them shall so appoint and require yow to doo within your bailifwicke, and by vertue and authoritie of your charge now in the same, and by our commandment. Herof fail ye not, as ye tender our pleasure and the furtherance of our service. Geven under our signet at our pallace of Westminster, the 16th of January 1580, in the 23d yere of our reigne. *

* Similar commissions were directed to *F. Hastings, Esq. Sheriff of the county of Leicester, and to Geo. Nevill, Esq. Sheriff of the county of Nottingham,* excepting that in these Sir William Pelham's name is not erased, nor Sir Ralph's added, nor any of the interlineary corrections. In the second letter, after, *hereof faile ye not,* is added, *and theis our lettres shall be your sufficient warrant, and discharge in this behalf.* The date the same as above.

No. IX.

Instructions for our right trusty and right welbeloved Cosin and Counsellor, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshall of England, and for our trusty and welbelovid servaunts Sir Henry Nevell, and Sir William Pelham, Knights, for the pourpose following. Gyven the 16th of January 1580.*

ELIZABETH R. BY THE QUEENE.

Whereas for certein important causes, we have resolved that the quene of Scottes shall be presently removed, (*brought neerer unto us,*) and that yow our cosin of Shrewsbury shalbe unburdened of such a charge, after so long and carefull attendance upon the same, which yow have done to our exceeding great contentment, and to your no lesse credit and honour; and for th' assurance we have and know of your long approved fidelitie, (*wisdome and good will,*) and the great care you have always shewed to have to perfourme the trust we committed unto yow, we have thought good, having also joined unto yow for your (*ease*) better assistaunce in this charge, our trusty and welbeloved (*servaunts,*) counseller, sir Rafe Sadler and sir Henry Nevill, (*and sir William Pelham, knights.*) that you shall proceede to th' effectuall execution of this our resolution and commaundement with all speede, in manner following.

First, our pleasure is, that you sir Henry Nevell, shall from hence resorte to a house of our cousins, the erle of Huntingdon, in Leicestreshire, named Ashby †; and after you shall have in our name gyven

* The words in italics and within brackets have been erased, and others substituted.

† Commonly called Ashby de la Zouch, a magnificent castle now in ruins. It was founded by the celebrated Lord Hastings, Lord High Chamberlain to Edward IV. In this very castle, James, upon his accession to the crown of England, was splendidly entertained by the earl of Huntingdon, thirty knights with velvet gowns and gold chains serving up dinner every day. Ashby Castle was demolished by orders of parliament, having been garrisoned for the queen during the civil wars. The earl here mentioned is Henry Hastings, third

ordre to the keepers therof, that the same house be presently and thoroughly put and kept in readiness, with the furniture thereof to all purposes, without shewing the verie cause, giving out that it is for a parson of qualitie, who is to be sent from hence unto the northe; and wanting sufficient furniture, you shall advise and leave ordre with the sherif of that countie, that the necessary wants may be supplyed for a tyme from his and other gentlemens houses. Yow shall then with all convenyent speede resort to Sheffeld, to our cosin of Shrewsbury, to whome you shall delyver our lettres, and theis our instructions. Carying your selfs so, as the cause of your coming thither may not appeere to the said queene, or to any of hers, untill it shalbe told her by you our said cousyn, which our pleasure is you shall doo so soone as you with the said sir Henry Nevell, and sir William Pelham, or one of them, shall have read theese our instructions, and considered the points therof, wherin we wolde not have spent above one daye after th' arryvall there of you sir Henry Nevell, and sir William Pelham, or of one of yowe. And in that tyme, horses, coche, or horse-litter, and other cariages, may be provyded for her, and for all, or for the most necessary persons and stuffe meetest to go with her in company. The rest to followe after, as you shall advise, leaving some discrete parsons to conducte them after yow in good ordre and safetye; not making her, or any of hers, privy to what place you ar appointed to carye her, untill she comme to Ashbye, where our pleasure is she shall remayne. And in case she shall refuse to goo with yow according to this our direction, pretending sickness or some other impediment, in that case our pleasure is, that yow shall by force place her in some coche, or litter, as to you shalbe thought mete. This being ordered, without any furder delaye or excuse whatsoever, yow shall take your waye with her towards Ashby.

earl of Huntingdon. He had formerly been a warden of queen Mary at Wingfield, in Derbyshire, in 1569, being placed as an assistant, or rather spy on Shrewsbury, during a fit of the gout.

In case, for the shortnes of the tyme, yow shall thinke meete to have better assistance then your oune companyes, you maye have that want supplyed by sending our lettres, (which you our said servaunts shall for that purpose have with you,) directid to the sherifs of the counties of Derby, Nottingham, and Leicester, to assist yow, by meeting yow with suche convenyent companies, and at suche tymes and places, as by your lettres (or of two of you) to them, yow shall requyre them to doo. and so from place to place untill this service shalbe perfourmid.

Furder, you shall so consider and direct your waye from Sheffeld to Ashby, as the said queene may be lodged every night in some gentlemans house of good strengthe as the contreys will yeld, knowne to be well gyven to our service, sufferinge none to have accesse to her but such as yow will appoint and allowe of, besydes her awne necessary servaunts. And for the more assurance therof, avoyding the ordinary servaunts of the house for the tyme, other then such as shall attend upon the stuffe of the same house, yow shall appoint a convenyent nombre of your trusty servaunts, and some of the sherifs choice company, to watche and ward yn and about such lodgings. And shall also commaund the constables and other officers where yow shall passe, to cause strong watche to be kept by night in townes, villages, and passages about; for which purpose we send now herewith our commaundement under our hand, to be used as occasion shall serve, conteyning also commission for carts, horses, vitell, and such lyke.

And for avoyding of resort of people, as much as may be, you shall have care that you doo not lodge the said queen in any markett towne, or great borough, nor convey her thorough any suche, if it may be avoydid, specially on the holye daye or market daye, taking other waye then the common high waye, if it maye be without great hindrance of your jorney.

When you shall approche neere unto Ashby by one dayes jorney, you shall sende some of yours thither before, with the said quenes necessary officers, and some skilfull person in appointing of lodgings, as well to see that the said quenes lodgings maye be in order meete for her, and her

servaunts to be appointed and accommodated within the wards of the house, as well as the place will yeld meanes, as also for preparing of necessary provisions. Wherein you our cosin can gyve good direction by the example of your awne former doings, not forgetting to appoint convenyent places for the warders that are to attend by daye and to watche by night.

And for the order of the said quenes dyet by the way, and provisions to be made at the first at Ashby, untill we shall hereafter furder determyn, we referre that to the good consideracion and direction of you our said cosin, who by long experience can gyve order how that is to be doone, which we meane to defraye as we have doone hitherto. * And for that purpose, yow our said servaunts shall have a some of money with yow.

Fynally, for that the good, quyet and safe execution of this our service may requyre some other circumstances then we can heere prescribe unto yowe, we referre to your wisdomes and dexterities, to doo as cause, tyme and occasions maye moove yow, so as the said quene may be safely brought to Ashby, and our purpose herein duelye perfournid and obeyed. And when yow shall sette forward from Sheffeld, you shall therof advertise us with speede, and of the course and waye yowe meane to take with her.

When yow shall have thus brought the said queen to Ashby, (whereof you shall also advertise us,) and settled her there in the charge and custody of yow sir Henry Nevill, and sir William Pelham, who shall staye there with her, expecting our further pleasure herein; and also a dyrect order taken for her dyet and necessarye provisions, that therein maye be no wante, and also for the safe garding of her by your awne people, or by choice persons of the contrey, with th' advise and healpe of the sherif of the same: Our pleasure is, that yow our said cosin of Shrewsburye shall repayre unto us as yow have ben an earnest suter to doo, unto whome yow shalbe most welcome. Thinking it long till

* Very indifferently, however, as is frequently complained of by the earl of Shrewsbury.

we may see you, and to let yow know how acceptably we take the good and honorable service you have long done unto us, and also to acquaynte you with some matters of importance which concerne us and our state.

And for a furder explaining of our meaning, touchid in part with our awne hande in our lettre to yow our cosin, concerning the said queenes writings; you shall understand our will and pleasure is, that immediatlye upon your imparting unto her this our commaundement, you shall seaze upon all her wrytings and lettres, bothe in the custodye of herself, and also of her secretaryes, and of any others that deale with her secret affaires; which if she, or her secretaryes, or any other shall refuse to delyver, or suffer you to take in quyet manner, in that case our pleasure is, that yow shall use all meanes to have the same, by taking their keyes, or otherwise by breaking up their coffers, deskes, cabinetts, and other things where the same wrytings may be found. And then without further perusing of the same, or any of them, to putte all such writings and lettres into convenyent and sure coffres or trunks, and sealing up the same with the seales of you all three, or of twoo of yow, yow our said cosin shall bring the said coffres and writings safely unto us. *

No. X.

Instructions for the Erle of SHREWSBURY *and Sir* RAFE SADLER, *two of her Majesties Privy Counsell, and for Sir* HENRY NEVELL, *Knyghts. Gyven the of* 1583.

BY THE QUEENE,

Whereas, for certein important causes, we have resolvid, that the queen of Scotts shalbe removed, and you our cosin of Shrewsbury shal

* The conspiracy of Babington has been usually thought the cause of seizing the private papers of queen Mary. But we see, that although the step was not taken, yet it was pre-

be unburdenid of such a charge, after so long and careful attendance upon the same, which you have done to our exceeding great contentment, and to your no lesse credit and honor; and for the assurance we have and know of your long approvid fidelitie, and the great care you have alwayes had to performe the trust committed unto yow, we have thought good, (having also joynid unto yow for your better assistance in this charge, our trusty and right welbeloved counsellor, sir Rafe Sadlier, and our servant sir Henry Nevell, knyghts,) that you shall proceede to the effectuall execution of this our resolution and commandement with all speede, in maner following.

You shall understand, that we have made choice of our castell of Milborne, in our county of Derby, * and in your custody. In the which we have appointid and resolvid, that the said queene shalbe safely kept under the charge and custody of the said sir Rafe Sadlier, and sir Henry Nevell. But for that the said castell is not yet in suche good readines for that purpose as we have gyven order with speede to have it, we have thought meete, and so have ordrid, that in the meane tyme she shalbe brought unto Ashby de la Zouche, a house of our cosin of Huntingdom, as a fite place for her to staye at under the gard of you the said sir Rafe Sadleir, and sir Henry Nevell, which house is already made in a readines for that purpose. Wherfore, our pleasure is, that yow our cousin of Shrewsbury shall accompany her thither, and there to delyver and leave her unto their charge.

But before you proceed herein, we will that immediately upon their arryvall at Sheffeld, you all shall conferre together, both of the maner how to convey her to Ashby, wherein is to be considered the nomber of persons for strengthe, provision, coches or litter for her self, and for her ladyes, horses and carriages for her trayn and stuff, as also for a

meditated, and commission actually granted for carrying it into effect, six years before that conspiracy was undertaken.

* A royal castle on the verge of Leicestershire, not far from the Trent. Here John, duke of Bourbon, made prisoner at Agincourt, was kept prisoner nineteen years in the custody of Nicholas Montgomery the younger. It was decaying in the time of Camden. See his *Britannia*, Derbyshire.

convenyent place for one nights lodging between Sheffeld and Ashby, for which purpose we take Wingfeld, a house of yours our said cousins to be a convenient place. Leaving the order nevertheless to your better consideracion, for the aptnes of the places of remove. So as there be no longer delaye usid in this removing of her, which we wold lyke very well might be done within one daye after the arryval of our said servants at Sheffeld, if it wer possible.

After you shall have agreed, and have things in readines for the maner of her removing, then we think it convenyent, that you shall acquaint the said queene therwith, to the end she may prepare herself to remove, without letting her know to what place she shalbe cary ed. And in case she shall refuse to be removed, pretending sicknes, or some other lett or impediment; in that case our pleasure is, that you shall by perswasion wyn her, or (that serving not) you shall not forbeare in any wise to cause her to be placid in some coche or horse litter, as you shall thinke to be fittist for her, *in the case she may be yn.* And for the more safety in the conveying of the said queene, in case you shall fynde it so necessary for your assistance, yow shall send to the shiryves of our countyes of Derby and Leicester, requyring them upon the sight, and by our commandement, signifyed unto them by our lettres, (heerwith sent now unto you for them,) to gyve their attendance as yow shall direct them, as you may se by the copy of those lettres to them. Which we wolde have yow to forbeare to use, if otherwise by your good order this service may be well performid.

That a set watche and ward be kept in the night for the tyme of her passinge, as well about the house where she shalbe lodgid, as in the villages next adjoyning within two or three miles compas for a season, as you shall appoint; for which purpose we also send you a commission under our hand and signet: and also for such other necessaryes and conveyances as in this service shalbe needeful to be had of the contrey. That you avoyd to passe thorough any townes, where any multitude of people shalbe. And also that you take ordre, that the people

where you ar to passe, be not suffrid to assemble, by sending some discreete persons before, if you shall think it needefull.

As toching the dyet of the said queene, as well by the way as for provisions to be made at the saide places, *at Ashby untill we shall determyn further*, we refer that to the good consideracion and direction of you our said cousin, whose advise we wold have you (the rest) to follow, as by his long experience he is best able to gyve direction therin.

For other things requisit in this service, not remembrid in these our instructions, we referre the same to your good consideracions and discretions, knowing well that our intention herein is to have the saide queene safely conveyed, surely kept, and well used, to and in the places where we meane she shall remayne, as is above appointid, in the safe custody of you our said servants.

When this service shalbe thus performid, and ordre establishid for her dyet, and for placing of her company, that therin be no lacke according to the meanes of the place, *at Melborne aforesaid;* and also, for her safe garding by the said servaunts, wherof you shall advertise us with speede: Then *in case the health of yow our said cosin, (which we tender very muche as we have good cause) well permit it*, we wishe that yow our cousin would repayre unto us, as you have ben long an earnest suter to doo. Assuring yow, that we think it long untill we may see yow, and to let you know by our awne speeche how acceptably we take the good service you have done of long tyme unto us; and also to acquaint you with some maters of importance which concerne us and our state.

But if you our said cosin shall not be in case, (by reason of sycknes,) able to doo this service in the removing of the said queene, in the company of yow our said servaunts, (wherof we wold be hartely sory;) then our pleasure is, that yow two shall proceede and perfourme this our order and resolution in maner aforesaid; receaving of yow our said cousin suche direction and instructions for the dyet and usage of the said queene as yow know are meete to be gyven. And also some of your

skilfull servaunts used and practisid about the same for some few dayes untill some other be acquainted with the order and maner therof; and of your doings herein, and of the day of your departure from Sheffeld with this charge, you shall advertise us from tyme to tyme.

No. XI.*

BY THE QUEENE.

After the queene of Scotts shalbe brought from Sheffeld to Melborne castell, and there deliverid and left by our cosin the erle of Shrewsbury unto your charge and safe custody, according to our instructions gyven to you all three, bearing the date herof, yow shall observe and keepe the ordres following, for the better acquiting yourselfs in this charge, and answering to our expectation, so neere as in your fidelite yow can, besydes the contents of our said instructions, so much as the same touchith yow two, or either of yow.

First, at your arryvall at Melborne castell with the said queene, you shall appoint and place two discreete and trusty persons of yours to serve and be porters of the said castell, *whereof one to belong to the one of you, and thother to belong to the other of yow*, (of either of yours one). The same porters to be charged to suffer none of the said queens people to goo furthe of that castell without the company of some of yours, as heerin is after mentionid. Nor shall suffer any stranger or other, being not of your retynewes, and so by you allowed, to passe their ward inward, without first gyving knowlege therof to you, or to one of you. That it may appeere to yow by examinacion and searche, *if neede be*, (if you shall see cause,) what they ar, what they cary, from whence they come, and for what intent they comme thither And in case of sycknes or departure of either of the said porters, an other of

* Endorsed, "A private instruction."

lyke good qualite and company to be placid in his place with lyke charge.

Item, with lyke speede you shall see and cause all the back dores of the said castell to be made fast, and all other places and wyndowes, whereat any parson may passe out, to be made unpassable; saving only the principall gate where the porters doo attend. Or ells, so sone as yow depart from Sheffeld, it shall not be amisse that yow send some fit persons to the said castell to see those things to be done before the comming thither of the said queene, that it may be done in the quieter maner. *

Item, you shall appoint certen trusty persons to assist the said porter in the daye tyme, furnishid with halbards and harquebuzes, of equall nombre of both your servants.

Item, that the gates be shutt at ordinary tymes of meales, and at convenyent houres at nighte; and the kayes to be deliverid to you, or to one of you. *And it shall not be amisse that there shuld be dooble locks and double severall kayes to the gates; eche of yow to have one kaye brought unto yow upon the shutting of the gates.*

Item, you shall appoint and see a nightly watch in the castell in meete places by your discretions. The same watch to be visited by your appointment ones or twice every night *at the least*, by parsons of trust belonging to you bothe.

Item, in case and tyme of apparent suspition, you shall gyve order (as you shall see cause) to the next justices of those parts, that they appoint certen trusty parsons of the places next adjoyning, to serve with some convenient nombre as a standing watche *about the castell*, (in such places and for such houres as you shall think meet) furnished as the places and cause shall require.

Item, you shall take order that no suspected persons be suffered to lodge in the townes *and* (or) villages neere adioyning. And that if any suche or other stranger shall happen to repayre to any of those townes and villages, not knowne to have some necessary busynes there,

* These words are erased in the original, and the word *vacat* added on the margin.

that the same *(upon your warning to be formerly gyven)* be brought by the officer of the place before yow, or one of yow, to be examined and ordrid, as the cause shall require.

Item, that none of the said queenes trayne be suffrid to repayre to any toune or village, nor to have conference with any of our subjects, but in the presence and hearing of suche trusty parsons of yours as yow shall specially appoint, and that publickly. And in case any of her people shal be desyrous to buy any things for her or their necessarye uses, upon your knowlege of the things requyred, you shall cause the same to be brought from the next townes, if they ar there to be bought, and to be sold unto them as in equitie the things may be afoorded, without exaction.

Item, if any of the wyves of the said queenes trayne shall happen to be with child, that then, before the tyme of delyvery, or lykelihode of travell, yow shall *gyve ordre that* (cause) suche *may* (to) be avoydid out of the castell for the tyme, without exception, and to be placed for their reasonable money in the houses of some of our well affected subiects; and they to be charged by you to suffer no unnecessary resort unto them of any of our subiects or other. Herin you may use the assistance of some of our well affectid justices in those parts.

Item, when any of the said queenes people shalbe disposid to take the ayre abrode, or otherwise recreat them selfs in the feelds at convenyent tymes, and within a convenyent compas of the said castell, yow shall appoint certen trusty parsons of yours indifferently to keepe them company; but not to have any pryvate conference with them.

That for the health and recreation of the said queene, we ar pleased you shall permit her to take the ayre abrode in the feelds, on foote or in coche, with some small nombre of her people, (by your discretions) at such fit tymes as she shall require, unlesse you shall know urgent cause to the contrary; and to be garded *at the least with —— pistolyers or other shott*, (with a convenyent nombre of your people on horseback, appointed as is meete). Besydes certen other lyke horsemen to *serve*

as avanteurrours to scoure the places about, (see the places cleare about) where she shall take the ayre.

Finally, if in the course of this service you shall desyre to be further *instructed* (directed) in any other needefull particularities, as yow shall fynde it meete, and as the said queene shall mynister mater fitte to be signifyed hither, (wherin we wishe to have your opinions from tyme to tyme) upon notice therof from you, it shalbe answerid and ordrid, as the reason of the matter shall require. For our meaning is not to deliver unto her any harder treatment for the usage of her parson, than heertofore we have done, as you *may let her* know, howsoever she may conceve of this our removing her from Sheffeld.

Item, you shall not suffer any stranger to have accesse or conference with the said queene, out of the hearing of you or one of yow. Nor shall suffer any lettres or bookes to be delivered to her, or to any of hers, untill yow, or one of yow, be first made privy to the contents of them; unless such as be sent from hence by the ordre of our principall secretary.

Item, you shall suffer no stranger, other than yourselfs, or one of you, and her own folks used to be about her for her necessary service, to resort to her.

Item, yow shall not suffer any lettres or bookes to be delyvered to her, but such as shalbe sent to yow from hence, by the order of our principall secretary, or other by our appointment. *

Item, yow shalbe carefull and foresee that no clothes, apparell, or other feldid or close thing, be suffrid to be brought to the said queene, or to any of her people, without the same be first visited and sought by yow, or one of yow, at the bringing yn therof. And that yow shall stay such things foand in secret, as you thinke ar not meete to be delyverid to her or to them. †

* The words in italics are erased in the original, and the others substituted.

† This translation of queen Mary's captivity to Millborn castle never took place. She remained under the earl of Shrewsbury's custody until 1584, when more ingentle and ignoble jailors were provided for her.

No XII.

Summary of Sir Ra. Sadler's *Instructions. Aug.* 1584. *

1. The erle of Shrewsbury to repayre to the queens presence.

2. The garding of the Scotts queene now by the erlesmen, to be considered of. And to do therin as is most fit for this service.

3. That thearle have speciall regard in the choice of such as he leaveth behind him. That they be of good religion, of wealth, void of corruption; and that he bring up with him so many of his other servants as wer daily attendant upon him, or (by reason of any charge) had occasion to be familier with the queenes servaunts.

4. That her servaunts be restrayned of somme of their liberty, namely laundresses, and such as have had liberty to resort unto the towne, or other townes.

5. That she be not permitted to ryde farre abrode, but suffred on foote or coche to take the ayre, and somme exercise, by his discretion.

6. That the watchmen in the townes and villages about be encreased, and also watche to be kept in other townes and villages farther of. And some watche in the day tyme also of a smaller nombre. And that watch to be of welthy men them selfs, voyde of suspicion to bee corrupted. The same to be recommended to the care of well affected justices next adjoyning. They to look well to rougnes, masterlesse men, and wandring persons, be not suffred to resort to the townes and villages next adioyning to the queenes lodgings.

* The unfortunate queen Mary had been now fifteen years imprisoned in England, chiefly under care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, distracted by the suspicions of Elizabeth, the plots of Mary's partizans, and the domestic jealousy of his own consort, had often desired to be relieved of his charge. He was now summoned to court, previous to the queen's being removed to the care of sir Amias Paulet and sir Drew Drury; and sir Ralph Sadler, sir Walter Mildmay, and Somers, were appointed her temporary guardians in his absence.

7. That the head officers of the townes next adjoyning, do delyver severall notes to the justices of strangers nightly lodging in those townes and places. And upon cause of suspition, as shewing no sufficient reason of their repayre thither, such strangers to be brought before the justices, and they to acquaint Sir Rafe withall before they be released.

8. To advertise the counsell of the ordres he shall take, sending them copyes, to be considered.

9. To let the Scotts queene understand of therles lycence to comme up, and yn his absence the care to be delyvered to yow.

10. If she speake any thing of a treaty lately begon betweene her majesty and her for an increas of liberty, to say, that he was not made acquainted with any such mater. But in your absence from the court, you receaved your charge from her majesty by (commission). But that you suppose thearle shall bring her ansuer as well therin as in any other her requests.

No. XIII.

Orders set downe by the right honorable the * *Erle of* Shrewsbury, *and ar observid within his house, for the garde and sure keeping of the Scottish Queene, under his charge, as followith, viz.*

First, the said erle entertaynith 40 soldyours ordinarily in his house, furnishid with calyvers, pertaysans, and halbards, most of them being

* George, earl of Shrewsbury, had for sixteen years the odious task of being jailor to queen Mary, who was confined at his castles of Sheffield, Tutbury, Wingfield, &c. during that long space of time. When he was summoned to the court, or obtained permission to visit it on his private affairs, Elizabeth sent special commissioners to take charge of his castle, and the custody of the Scottish queen during his absence. Sir Ralph Sadler seems more than once to have had this temporary trust reposed in him. But the period to which these letters refer, is that when the earl of Shrewsbury was finally relieved of his royal prisoner. Sir Ralph Sadler, and sir Henry Mildmay, were then named her guardians provi-

the sons of his tenaunts of good accompt, and otherwise well knowne to his lordshipe to be faithfull to the queens majestie our soverayne, and trusty to him. Besydes two of his yeomen, who, by course, (alwayes two,) do watche and warde at the stayre foote of the said Scots quenes lodginge, from the which there is but one waye.

Ouer those soldyours under his lordshipe, Mr Bentall, a gentleman of good wisdome and good trust by long experience, hath the charge; and being gentleman porter, hathe the care by dayly attendance at the gate to observe all things touching that charge. [At my lordshipes departure towards the court, he took Mr Bentall with him, * and placed Mr Sadler in his roome.]

All the said soldyors within the said house, shall weare their swords and daggars untill they goo to bed. And every gentleman yeoman and soldyor within that house, shall have suche other furniture as shalbe appointed unto him. And his weapons alwayes standing at his beds syde, that he may be ready of offend and defend when occasion shall require.

When the said Scottish quene goith abrode, every gentleman yeoman and soldyor shalbe ready upon warning thereof gyven, with such furniture and weapons as shalbe apointed unto them, by the said erles officer in charge for the tyme being, to attend and wayt upon her. And none to wander or straggle abrode out of her sight, untill she be retournid into her chambre.

None of her people shall passe out of the utter gates without leave; and upon suche licence there shalbe soldyors appointed to gard them, and to observe and see that they use no conference with any stranger, nor delyver or receave any lettres to or from any, and not to goo further than they are lyceneed. And that none of the said erles servaunts

sionally, till she should be transferred to lord St John's custody. But that nobleman contriving to evade the commission, the unfortunate Mary was at length put under the charge of sir Amias Paulet, her last and most rigorous jailor.

* The passages within brackets are marginal annotations by sir Ralph Sadler. These orders may be illustrated by Mr Lodge's Collection of State Papers.

use any conference with the said queene, or with any of her people, other then officers for their necessary occasions. The watche and ward shalbe contynually kept about the said house, with 8 soldiors, more or less at the discretion of the gentleman porter, and that suche soldiers as do watch shall warde in their courses accordingly. [Of these, 4 do watch within the house, and 4 without, and go about the house, besides 2 yeomen at the stayre foote, as is aforesaid.]

Every soldier that is to watch and ward, shalbe ready at the sownding of the drom, which shalbe sownded from our Ladyday in Lent, until Michelmas, at 5 of the clock in the morning, and at 8 at night; and from Michelmas until our Ladyday at 6 in the morning, and at 6 in the evening; and the watche being ones charged and set, every watche man to keep his charge and place appointed withyn or without the house, and shall suffer none to passe without the watcheword, or with the officer in charge for the tyme being.

When any alarme shalbe gyven either by the said watche, ward, drom, trompet, or otherwise, all that ar in the said house shall come furthe with all possible speede to answer to the said alarme, and shalbe ready to follow such direction as shalbe gyven by the said erle, or by his officer in charge for the tyme being. And when suche alarme shalbe gyven, that none of the said queens people do comme out of his or their chambre or lodging, upon perill of their lyves, untill they shalbe callid for by name, or specially lycensid by the said erle, or by his officer.

The gentleman porter shall searche and relieve the watch at his discretion from tyme to tyme; [he doth it rightly at 10 and at 2 in the morning.] And if he fynde any default or offence committed by any soldyor, to appoint him suche punishment as his offence deservithe.

The gentleman porter shall delyver the names of such as do watche, and the watcheword, every night by 9 of the clock at the farthest unto the said erle, or to such as shalbe in charge under him. No servaunt within the said house shall ryde abrode, nor lye furthe of the same house, without speciall lycence.

The gates shalbe locked up every day at xj of the clock, and so kept untill all the house have dynid. And in the mean tyme, none to passe too nor fro, unlesse they be necessary officers of the erles, or about the said erles speciall busynesse.

Certen other things thought good by Sir RAFE SADLEIR *to be addid.*

That all the said 40 soldyors shall gyve their corporall othes unto the erle of Shrewsbury to serve trulye in the places of their charge, and to be obedyent in suche things and at suche tymes for the quenes majesties service, as in the said erles absence they shalbe commaunded by Sir Rafe Sadleir, appointed in his lordeships absence to take the charge of the said Scottish quene.

That the 2 landresses and cocheman shall gyve the lyke othes, as to the places of their severall services is meet to be requyrid of them. [Note, That the landresses do use to wassh and dry within the house, and go very seldom forth.]

That the justices of the peace and constables of the contrey adioyning be also charged, and the constables sworne, to be carefull in their severall dyvisions and lymits to observe all passengers unknowne; and if any suche comm in troup, to advertise sir Rafe Sadlier speedely thereof: and that the constables shall increas their night watches in all places by 2 persons mo then usuall; and also shall appoint 2 to warde upon the high wayes of every parishe within their lymits in 6 myles compass. And if they see any suspected wandering parson to pass, be he man, woman, or boy, that such watchemen and wardens shall bring such suspected parson to the next justice or constable, there to be examinid and searchid for lettres and other cariages. And if any suche shalbe founde about them, or other cause of suspition, such justice or constable shall bring suche suspectid parson to the said sir Rafe Sadleir, in the absence of the said erle. The lyke care shall they have of

all other travelers unknowne logding, or resteing in any town or village within their lymits.

The 40 Soldyors names.

Edward Hudson	Rob. Hawkesworth	Tho. Machin
Tho. Harrison	Tho. Chapman	John Heyland
Rowland Longston	Wm. Parker	John Beighton
James Haage	Wm. Moreton	Henry Brownell
Leonard Short	Robert Stone	Christof. Hawkesworth
Thomas Hall	Anthony Parker	Henry Waterhouse
Thomas Ely	Wm. Sparrow	Tho. Greene
Hugh Beighton	Henry Rogers	Richard Frytcheley
Tho. Darwyn	James Key	John Haage
Geo. Roukesley	Tho. Bright	Edw. Brounnall
Nicholas Whetley	Edw. Creswik	Roger Smylter
George Rowland	John Woodhead	Robert Hall
Robert Hall	Ry. Wilcoxon	Robert Harrison.
John Cooke		

No. XIV.

To Mr Secretary, 7th September 158[illegible].

Sir,

The 5th of this moneth I receaved yours of the second, and therwith a *lettre* (parcel) to this lady from the French ambassadour, which hath ben seene as you advised, as by theffect *therof you see here*

I am very glad to understand from you, that the alarme sent from Irland of forces sent out of Scotland provith not so dangerous as was first infourmed; and that the suspycion of the Spanyard *that way* is cleered,

which will make the matter the easyer by the lord deputies good diligence. Touching that the king of Scotts hath in this last session forfeyted divers noble and others, I did in generall talk as of myself with this queen, let her understand it as a harde course towards such her persons and others, as therby to dryve them to desperation, which might of perillous consequences being so much in the peoples privacy. Farre arre from the course and modesty of other great potentates, who notwithstanding grande occasions offerid many yeres, did forbeare to forfeyte any, hoping in tyme they might returne to their obedyence, and become good and serviceable subiects. She answered, that by her troth she hearde nothing of it, but if the king, her son, have done so, it may be for example to others, who seeing her sons dealing with these, will learne how to displease him; and that if he shulde have holden a gentler course, others might have taken a more boldnes upon them. Besydes, that these men, she sayde, have had the kings favour and grace ones or twyce before, and wolde not yet beware. This she said was her opynyon in the matter; but I told her playnly, that in myne opynion, it was by the ambicion of these dangerous and nedy ministers about him for ther awne commodite. *

The 6th of this moneth I receaved yours of the iiijth, wherin was also one to my lord of Shrewsbury, touching her majestys harde opynyon of Mr Bentall the gentleman porter heer, wherupon his lordship hath taken him up with him to avyde offence; though he assured me that for the long experience he hath had of his honest dealing in this charge, and other services, he wulde have trustyde him with his lief and honour. And for my part, I shulde do him wrong, if I shulde not testyfy of his readynes and care to acquyte the trust committed unto him in that charge syns I have ben heere, so far as I coulde perceave; but his lordship will upon occasion let you and others understand from whence this proceedith.

* This conversation refers to the conspirators concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, as it is called in Scottish history. Elizabeth, who saw among them the most zealous friends of England, interceded for them at James's court, with an eagerness which probably precipitated the fate of Gowrie and others of their number.

Yesternight, Sonday the 6th, my lord of Shrewsbury, (and I with him,) resorting to this queen to take his leave of her, after she had delyvered some speeches to theffect of my other lettres, and finding his lordship unwilling to cary her lettres now unto her majesty, complyning of the evell wryting of them by reason of a sore mydell fynger on her right hande, which she had straynid, and there sheued it: she prayed me to convey them to her majestie, as I do heerwith, cawsing her secretary Nau erst to reede them to me. And lykewise an other to the French ambassadour, conteyning her request mentionid in former lettres, and among other things, there is answer toching his recommending of archbishop Dowglas, as heere above you may see. Her answer was generall as her goodlyking of him as an honest man. But told me playnly, that though she takith archbishop Douglas* to be an honest man, and whom she wolde be glad to gratiffy in reasonable maner; yet she doth not so estyme of him as to make him her agent, if her majesty her good suster welde admit her to have any suche by her; but wolde have one of her awne choice, who shulde do as good offices as he; one for whome she wolde answer.

This morning my lord departed hence to lodg this night at Leycester. And for gentleman porter hath appointed one Mr Wombwell a gentleman towards his lordship, and of good lyvelihood in this sherere, who in former tymes hath supplyed that place in thabsence of Mr Bentall.

* Archibald Douglas, a kinsman of the earl of Morton, and deep in his bloody intrigues. He was an accomplice in the murder of Henry Darnley; nevertheless James VI. received him into favour after his acquittal by a packed jury, and named him his ambassador resident at the court of England. He was privately leagued with the master of Gray, who betrayed, in some measure, queen Mary to the axe. And Gray rewarded Douglas as traitors usually do their accomplices, by transferring the blame to his shoulders. What object queen Elizabeth's counsellors had in recommending such a person to be queen Mary's confidential agent, may be more easily guessed than ascertained.

No. XV.

Sir RAFE SADLER *to Mr Secretary, 5th October* 1584.

SIR,

I have receyved your letters of the last of September, according to the contents whereof I have shewed unto this Scotish queen, that I trust she shall here very shortly of her majesties resolution, touching the sending of Nau* to her majestie; for that I understonde by a short lettre from you, having now made a specyall dispeche unto me with other private lettres concerning matiers of myn owne, that you fynde her majestie well disposed to yelde thereunto, wherewith she seemeth to be satisfied, and to be in better hope therof than she was before. And to say my poure mynde thereon to you, I thinke it not amisse to assay and prove what she can, and will do, touching her offers which she hath made; for she affirmith unto me, that her soonne is hollie at her devocion, and will do nothing without her, howsoever men be perswaded to the contrarye; and that she is sure he wilbe advised by her in all things he may honourablie do for the preservacion and contynuance of peax and good amytie bytwen thes two realmes, whiche she sayeth is the thing she most chiefely desireth to advance; for she sayeth there is no naturall borne subiect of this realme that is more affected, or more wissheth and desireth the weale and prosperitee of the same then she doth; and there is nothing that she doth more reioyce in, and that doth more advaunce her in honour, then that she is come of the bloode and noble progenie of Englande. Such maner and kynde of speeches hathe she had with Mr Somer and me to that effect dyvers and sondry tymes syns our commyng hither in sorte, as we have here-

* One of queen Mary's secretaries, whose evidence, with that of Curl his co-adjutor, was afterwards used in her mock trial.

tofore signified unto you; whereby in outward apparence she maketh grete shew and demonstracion of an inwarde affection, and zele to perfourme that she promiseth; whereof to make a profe and tryall, can com no hurte in my poure opinion, which nevertheless I referre to the wisedom and grave consideracion of her majesty and her highness most honourable counsell. Furthermore, sir, whereas you wryte unto me, that my lord of Shrewsbury doth make grete sute and meanes to be rydde of this charge,* though I can not blame him therfore, yet I think, that if it be meant that she shall remayn still in this countrey, she can not be taken from him and committed to others without som blemisshe and touche of his reputacion and also without moche greter charge to her majesty. And if it be meant to gard her at Tutbury, my lord of Shrewesbury is constable of the castell there, high steward of the honour, master of the game of all the forests, chaces, and parks there, and the hole countrey thereabouts within his rule. So that, as I say if it be meant that she shall contynue in this countrey, there is no man so mete for the charge as he is, and surelie no other man is able to take the charge and to answere it so good chepe† by the half as he is, considering the grete furnyture of ale and of provisions he hath for that purpose. Thus have I sayed my poure opinion unto you, prayeng you nevertheless, though I write my mynde therein to you for the better service of her majesty, that yet my lord of Shrewsbury do not knowe so moch; for I wolde be loth to give him any such cause of offence as he shulde thinke I go about to preferre him to any thing whereof he hath no lyking; and so beseching you to have me in your good re-

* Of this the reader may find repeated instances in "Lodge's Illustrations," *passim*. In fact, the charge exposed him both to the jealousy of his Countess and the suspicion of Elizabeth. In one letter he wishes to be honourably rid of a "weighty and cumbersome charge, the care whereof has almost brought me to my grave."—Vol. II. p. 117.

† The allowance to lord Shrewsbury was 52*l*. every week; less by half, he says, than Elizabeth paid before the queen came to him. But he complains bitterly of the expenses of "keeping this woman;" even the entertainment he gave his household servants was not defrayed, he says, with the weekly allowance, independent of the expense of wine, spice, and fuel, which came not under 1000*l*. by the year, and many other incidental charges. Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. II. pp. 130, 238. *et passim*.

membrence to her majesty, who I trust will not forgette her most gracious promise made in respecte of my yeres and old service, to release me of this charge afore the wynter com, which is now at hande, and I alredy begyn to taste of the coldues of this unpleasaunt countrey; I ende with my prayer to Almightie God, long to preserve her majesty in helth, and most feliciouslie to reigne over us to his pleasure and our comforts. Wingfeld, 3 October 1584.

No. XVI.

The King of Scots to the Queene his mother. *

MADAME,

Je suis esbahy de n'auoir receu aulcune responce de vous touchant les ticles que je vous ay envoyé desia long temps ya par feu nostre cousin de Lenox. Toutefois j'estime qui cella soit procedde des troubles qui ont este depuis en ce pays, dequoy je vous ay neantmoins bien voulai advertir ayant l'occasion de cest ambassadeur qui jenvoye en France vers le roy et nostre cousin de Guise. A celle fin vous ne faillez en toute diligence possible de menuoyer vostre opinion des dits artieles. Vous asseurant que pour toutes ces adversitez que jay sousteneu depuispour amour de vous, je ne suis aulcunement rompu ne detourné de mon deuoir et affection envers vous, mais plus tost au contraire s'est accreu et augmentè lenuie que j'avois tousiours de vous faire paroistre par effect comment je cognois mon debuoir envers vous aultant que filz du monde vers sa mere. Cependant je vous prie de rechef de me faire entendre vostre opinion des dicts articles et pareillement que vous memployez en quoy je vous puisse faire plaisir ou service. Ce que faisant vous cognoistrez au moins ma bonne volontè; et sil plais a Dieu de seconder noz affaires et intentions en jouuyrez aussy du succes, et vous prie aussy de mander a nostre cousin monsieur de Guise quil se veuille

* This and the following letter from lord Seton are letters intended for Mary, but intercepted and decyphered.

employer de tout pouvoir avec nostre ambassadeur en noz affaires. De Sterling, ce 8 de Novembre. Par vostre filz, &c.

No. XVII.

From the Lord Seton * to the Scottish Queene.

Madame,

Le 15 de ce mois au partement de l'ambassadeur de Walsingham, vostre filz ma certifié quil est determiné de m'envoyer en France en toute diligence. J'appercois quil est du tout adonné a poursuivre l'amitie et ligue de ce royaulme, *(France) et de suivre en tout le conseil de monsieur de Guise, et achever le traicté commencé entre vous et luy. Partant si vous donnez* bon ordre par *de la, jestime que voz affaires pourront bien* aisement estre menez a bon port. *La pauvreté de vostre filz est si grande quil ne peult mestre en execution la moindre partie de ses desseigns. Parquoy je vous supplie de tenir la main par vostre moyen et conseil a lendroit de monsieur de Guise et aultres quil soit secouru en cella. Je suis constraint moy mesme d'entreprendre ce voiage a mes despens, ce que ie ne puis bonnement soustenir si vostre maj. ne me faict secourir. Car le principal motif qui me le faict entreprendre est l'advancement de vostre service. Desirant pair le mesme que vostre maj. me face entendre en quoy particulierement et en quelle maniere vostre maj. desire que je memploye par de la. Walsingham a este fort mal receu et entretenu. Je vous prie madame de nous faire avoir responce et intelligence, en toute diligence. De Seton, ce* 16 *Septembre* 1583.

Seton.

* George, sixth lord Seton, a staunch adherent of queen Mary, and also in favour with James VI. He was ambassador extraordinary to the court of France in 1583.

No XVIII.

To his very loving frende Mr Jhon Sommer.

Sir,

I send you by her majesties commandement a coppye of a cypher sent out of Scotlande unto the queene of that realme. Yt hathe ben decyphered by Phyllyps, but not fully to her majesties contentement. Yt is wrytten in Frenche, and is but all one lettre, thoughe in the decypher in paper yt may seeme two. Yt should seeme to be wrytten in Marche last. The matter is of great weyght, and therfor worthye of travayle, which I recommende unto your wonted good care. At the coorte, the 29[d] of Aprell 1584.

Your assured frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

Madame,*

La necessitè ma constraint destre un peu plus soingeus de recouurir lintelligence i a long tems mort entre vostre ma. et le roy vostre filz. La quelle graces a Din i ay trouvé par la voy dun honnest homme Anglois qui se fera cognoistre a vostre ma. par sa lettre dans laquelle ie croy quil tesmoignera lopinion quil a du roy mon maistre, qui ayant entendu ses nouelles fut tres aisé de visiter vostre ma. de ces trois ou quatre lignes de sa main. Tant pour scavoir des vos nouelles par la responce que pour assurer vostre ma. de son obeissance et afection filialle, comme aussy pour vous tesmoinger combien bon sa maj. estime le dissing de monsieur de Guise son cousin touchant son entreprise en Angleterre; *tant plus il lestime quil letand a la* liberté *de vostre ma. La quelle il estime plus-*

* In the margin, *It was from Mr of Gray by the king's commandment.*

que l'accroissement de sa grandeur *et souhaite plusque la franche liberté de son estat et personne propre. La quelle a la verité a esté ses deux ou trois mois passez en tres grand dangier. Car ses mauvaises subiectes paissez* par la bonne royne d'Angleterre *cherchent de jour en aultre loccasion davoir sa personne entre leurs traitereuses mains. Ce que nous autres taschons par tous moyens dobuier. Totfois noz ennemis sont si vigilants, et les meschantz ministres si soingeuses de parvenir au bout de leurs intentions, que nous estimons le seul moyen contre* toutes les ses machines de la royne d'Angleterre *sera lacheiuement de la susdite entreprise. Car sa ma. est deliberé de* iouer son personage *comme son cousin la sien. Et pour mieux faire apres ques sa ma. eust eut les longue experience de lopinion de* Colonel Steward * *à sa ma. luy a communiquè toute ceste enterprinse. La quelle le dict à* (Steward) *estime plus que mille aultre chose di ce monde. Tant parce quelle* sien avant l'accroissement de la grandeur du roy son maistre, *que pour* avoir la revenge de ce que l'ané *passè il receut tant de cassades ralles belles promesses de la royne d'Angleterre, et pour le service de vostre ma. En particulier il promest autant que luy sera possible, le tesmoignage de quoy je vous envoye subsigné et escript de sa main. A la verité jay conseyllé le roy la luy communiquer, parce que a present cest homme d'Escosse qui peult plus faire pour conserver la personne de sa maj. veu quil est capitaine de sa garde. Oultre, madame, le roy a sondè de long tems ceuls de sa noblesse quil estime ses fideles subiects comme les contes Morton,* † *Herise, Ogelvy, ausquels il a communiquè le tout, et au sieur Robert Melvil. Mais pour vous escrire librement de tous les trois quil a plu a sa maj. communiquer la susdite entreprise, le colonel Steward est plus vigilant et soigneux. Car de puis quil la sceu, il a reiectè l'opinion quil avoit de tout aultre.*

Madame, le gentilhomme que jay envoye dernierement en France de la garde de sa ma. a monsieur votre cousin nest pas ancor de retour, ny nulles novelles de l'argent que jay envoye querir pour le payment de sa garde.

* Colonel William Stewart, the captain of James's guard of gentlemen, and at this time a leading favourite.

† Maxwell, earl of Morton.

Si est ce que sa maj. est constraint de faire une levé de trois cens souldats pour demeurer aupres de sa ma. a tout evenement. Mais, madame, comme desia dict est pour delivrer votre ma. et le roy votre filz de tout peril, il ny est point daultre remed que le succes des affaires d'Angleterre. *Ce que cause sa maj. de liberer d'envoyer Guillaume Hault, l'Anglois qui esteit prisonnier au chasteau de Lisleburgh, a monsieur votre cousin pour deux principales pointes. A scavoir de desirer* son excellence d'accellerer toutes choses *a cause que la royne d'Angleterre est aupres* de faire mourir le roy votre filz par ung moyen extraordinaire ; *pensant ainsi de couper le chemin* au voisins de La Mothe Fenelon, et de vostre cousin monsieur de Guise *veu que votre maj. est tousiours subiecte a* sa misericorde. *L'autre occasion du voiage du dict Anglois est pour faire renvoyer monsieur la Motthe sil est possible que en embassade. et luy livrer le ving mil escus que monsieur de Guise me fit promettre au roy pour leuer des soldats au temps* quil fera sa preparation. *Car sans doubte ses meuvaises subiects et ceulx qui se sont embarques avec nos predicants. aussi tot quils voyens le roy et ses aultres subiects ses mettre en armes ils feront contre luy quelque nouelle remonstrance de luer train du temps passè practiquè a l'endroit de votre maj. Tellement quil est plus que necessaire que la surdite somme soit envoyè en toute diligence.*

Madame, le roy votre fils vous supplie de tenir main et descrire par la premiere commodite a monsieur vostre cousin s'il nest pas possible que le dict la Mothe pourra obtenir lambassade. Sa ma. desire affectionement quelque de ses cousins de la maison de Guise pour luy conseiller en ce temps la en toutes *ses actions. faisant* semblance *seulement de luy venir visiter ce quils consentirent faire tres volontiers sil plaira a votre ma. d'y donner votre opinion.*

Madame, le roy ma commandé de vous suplier de sa part de prendre quelque bon ordre pour la surté de vostre personne mesmes, de luy participer vostre deliberation en ce temps la. *Car sans la conservation de celle, il ne fait pas grant estat de* l'accroissement de sa grandeur. *ny de nul autre bien que luy en pourra avenir. Mais de ceey vostre responce l'asserera. Comme aussi de scavoir* ceulx qui sont vos amys en Angleterre et combien vous vous pouves fier en iceulx, et esperer ayde.

Craingnant, madame, vous estre trop importuné par mon discordant discordant discours, je supplieray vostre ma. de n'espargrer celluy qui n'espargnera jamais sa vie pour vous faire tres hamble service, et desir de vous donner quelque sufisante preufue de ma loyalte intention en recevant voz commandements, les quels j'obeiray daussi fidelle affection comme tres humblementje prieray Diu, madame, quil donit a votre ma. en tres heureuse santé longue et prospere vie, avec l'accomplissement de voz dissings plus desirez. Ce deuxiesme d'Avril de vostre ma. le tres humble et tres obeyssant serviteur,

x :

Madame, dans ma lettre j'ay omis le principal point ne losans monstrer au roy. Il y est un gentilhomme le π (conte de Arren) et sa femme. En eux le roy se fie plus quen nul autre, encor quil ma confessè luy mesme quils sont de vous fort impudies. Le dict conte est ennemye capitaile non seulement a tous les Catholicques, mais a vostre mu. et a tous les vostres, et tasche tousiours indirectement dempescher toute l'amitié qui est entre vostre ma. et le roy votre fils comme depuis peu de jours il a practiquè a l'instance de la reyne d'Angleterre pour le mariage du roy et la fille du roy de Sued. *Et sur cecy il a eu* quelques angelats, *que le roy scait bien luy mesme, mais en cela come aux aultres deportements de ce meschant home, le roy est fort aveuglé. Pourquoy, madame, comme votre ma. desire la conversation de sa vie, advertises le de prendre mieux gard aux actions de ce comte, et de ne laisser point* a ce roistre *en tel mescontentement de la noblesse et du peuple, pour les tres mauvaises deportements d'un homme qui nest pas trop necessaire en une republique. Car le breuit cour que sa ma. est totalement governè par ses menteries, et ensorcelé par la diabeterie de sa meschante et efrontes femme. Oultre, madame, il y est le maistre de sa garderobe et quelques aultres de sa chambre qui ont este la mises par ses ennemis, ce quil ne veult pas reformer pour nul conseil de nous autres. Il est necessaire, madame, de luy escrire vostre opinion. Joinct l'authorité maternele, luy faisant a croir que votre ma. la sceu d'ailleurs. Au rest ie me remets a la responce de vostre ma.*

Right honourable, Herewith I do returne unto yow, for her maiestie, the cifred lettre you sent, and brought to me upon Thursday last by John Puttrell, messenger; and my litle travell to make it somwhat playner. By the discourse you shall fynd (as I take it), that it comith from a principall person about the Scottish king, as the erle of Arreyn or coronel Steward. From a Scotts man it is, as his ortography and articles of the gendres shewes in many places, which in thextract I have onely a little holpen, referring to her majesty, as you shall perceive by comparing Mr Philips extract with this. As for the significative notes, somme I have coted in thend of this extract, as the course of the lettre betrayed. The rest I leave to your judgement, whoby further acquayntance can gesse at them.

In the begynning of this next weke, the quarter sessions of Sarum is, wher I have special mater then. The assemble about the long expected generall certificat of the musters wherunto I am specially sommonid, and the next day the mater of *Rochester* brige. So appointed by statute, ar the causes why (as duely wold) I wryte not to your honour with this; but having discharged my duty therin as much as I can, I trust you conceave the matter, and excuse the man. And so, &c.

Likely to signify.	Q: Queene of England.	T: England.	S: The King.	N: Monsieur de.	
	ϖ: France.	δ: La Mothe Fenellon.	ω: Scotland.	x He that wrote the lettre.	

No. XVIII.

To our trusty and right welbeloved Counsellor Sir RALPHE SADLER, *Knight, Chancellor of Duchie of Lancastre.*

ELIZABETH R.

Trustie and right welbeloved councellour. Whereas we have made speciall choice of you, as we have before signefyed unto you by our secretary, to supply the place of our right trustie and right welbeloved cousin and councellour the erle of Shrewsbury in the charge of the quene of Scots during the tyme of his absence; being, at his long and earnest sute, licensed by us to make his repaire hither to our presence; for which service, we doubt not but you are now in a readines. We doe accordingly send you by this bearer, our servant Somer, (whom we have also appointed to attend uppon you, and assist you in the saide service,) such instructions as we have thought meet to sett down for your better direction how to execute the charge committed unto you according to our will and pleasure; wherein, as we nothing doubt but you will acquite your selfe with that care and circumspection that may aunsweare the speciall trust and confidence we repose in you, so may you be well assured, that in regard as well of your long service as of your great yeares, we will, for our part, have also a care to ease you of that charge as soone as convenyently may be. Given at our manour of Stelandes, the 12th of Aug. in the 26th yeare of our reign.

No. XIX.

To our trusty and welbeloved ANDREWE NEVILL, *Esq. Sheriff of our County of Leycestre.*

ELIZABETH R. BY THE QUEENE.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greete you well. Whereas we have nowe appointed our trusty and right welbeloved councellor sir Ralphe Sadler, knight, in thabsence of our right trusty and right welbelovid cousen therle of Shrewesbury, to have the charge and oversight of the Scottishe quene; our will and pleasure therefore is, that yf our said counsellor, during the said charge to him committed, shall, by his lettre, at any tyme requier your assistance and aide, you shall furthwith, uppon suche significacion, resorte to such place, so accompanied, and for suche tyme and causes, and with suche nombres as he shall appointe and requier youe to doe within your ballywyke, and by vertue and authoritie of your charge nowe in the same. Wherof faile ye not; and theise our lettres shall be your sufficient warante and discharge in this behalfe. Gyven under our signet, at our manour of Stelandes, the 15th day of Aug. 1584, in the 26th yere of our reigne.*

No. XX.

To Mr Secretary WALSYNGHAM.

SIR,

Upon Tuesday the 18th I departed from Standon; and, by suche journeys as I was able to ryde, I came hither this Tewsday the 25th.

* A similar writ was also sent to Rob Markham, Esq. sheriff of the county of Nottingham.

At my comming hither, I understood, by my lord of Shrewsbury, that, by the quenes majesties commandment, signified unto his lordship very expressly by your lettres of the 18th of this monthe, he had determined to remove the Scotish quene from hence to Wingfelde, upon Thursday next the 26th. And, for that purpose, had caused some provysions to be layde yn there, and sent also thither some of this quenes bagages; thinking that I had brought lyke order from her majestie toching that remove. But forasmuche as neyther by myne instructions, nor by any other meanes I have hearde therof, but rather that I shulde have speciall regard (among other things) unto suche persons of this queens as resorted to Sheffelde towne and others about it, and no worde of Wingfelde. And that in trothe I fynde not my selfe well able to travell agayn so sone, thanking God that I am so well comme hither. I have entreated my lorde of Shrewsbury to staye his proceeding to that remove, untill his lordship and I may receave her majesties commandement in that or in any other thing.

And in troth, sir, I must tell you plainly, that, comparing the openesse of the country about Wingfelde to the straightnes of this, and to the which my lord also confesseth, I wolde rather take upon me to kepe her here with 60 men, then there with 300. Besydes that (as his lordship saythe) his provisions ar much farther and harder to be comme by there then heere.

No. XXI.

To Mr Secretary. 2 Sept. 1584.

Sir,

The day after myne arryvall heere, I spake to the Scotish quene; who, after my lord of Shrewsbury and I had let her understande the cause of the quenes majesties sending me hither, according to myne instructions, thanked the quenes majestie, her good suster, that she

had made choice of an ancient counsellour of her acquaintance to attende about her, with dyvers other good words to that end; shewing herself, in words, glad to heere of her majesties good healthe; adding, that now that my lord of Shrewsbury goith to her majestie, he can informe her highnes of her doings whilest she hath ben under his charge; and requyred none other favour, but that he shulde saye the worst of her he coulde. None other thing passed betweene us at that tyme.

The last of August, after I had sent unto her the packet, which that day I had receavid from you for her, his lordship, I, and Mr Somer, went to her upon her owne motion, where she shewed herself not very well satisfyed, that seeing my lord of Shrewsbury was now to repayre to the court, and she to be left in other custody, her majestie had not signifyed so much unto herself by some worde under her highnes's hande: and feared therefore least her majestie had conceyved otherwise of her then she seekith to deserve. Therunto it was answered that his lordship and I had told her at my first comming that her majestie had sent me to supply his lordships place in his absence; but yet to satisfy her by sight of her majesties hande, my lord of Shrewsbury and I shewed her majesties lettres severally to us for that purpose. Wherwith she rested satisfyed, and told us how much she was bent to do any thing that might lyke her majestie her good suster; and was very sory that her majestie had not answered her to suche motions, as she had made long ago to her highnes, wherin her conscience dothe beare her witnes that she meanith upprightly towards her majestie and this realme, and for the weale of both, which she would make well appeere, as she hath offred before tymes, if her majestie wolde make proof of her. Some other particularities she uttered to this effect, which I have thought good to write to her majestie, not doubting but you shall be made privy to them.

The said last day I receaved your lettre, answer to mine of the 25th, toching the stay of this quene heere, or removing her to Wingfeld, as the quenes majestie shulde be pleasid to commaunde. Wherin I perceave that her majestie, referring the matter to yow, and yow to my

lord of Shrewsbury, and to me, to make choice therof; we consydering one, and that the chefest point mentioned in your lettre, which is for thadvoyding of her intelligences, which, by long contynuance in this place, may be the easyer had heere; and that in your former lettres to my said lord, yow signifyed her majesties pleasure to have her removed to Wingfeld; we have resolved to follow that course, and to-morow, God willing, to see her safely conveyed to Wingfelde. His lordship having taken so good order for all things, as though this remove was unceryeyn, yet there shalbe no lacke of any thing meete for her lodgings, dyet, and safety. And she being setled there, his lordship meanithe to depart thence towards the court upon Monday the 7th of this moneth, taking his way by Leicestre, Northampton, &c. With your lettre I receaved a packet for this quene. I pray you make mention in your next upon lyke occasion, whether I shall open such packets and lettres or no. She having perused her lettres therein from the French ambassadour, fyndeth great want that she hearith nothing from him in answer to her lettres of about the 10th of August, from hence directed to yow for thembassador. They conteyned a request to her majestie, that she might send one of hers to her highnes to treat with her upon the points of her offres, and to procure some resolucion from her majestie. The same request hath she prayd me to make to her highnes on her behalf.

I beseech you put to your good healping hande to healpe to relieve me from this care, so sone as it may stande with her majesties good pleasure to have consideracion of my yeres, and the colde weather now at hande. I fynde the posts somewhat slack. I think they measure their paces according to the dyversityes of the dyrections on the packetts. Your patent lettre (by your next commodite) to be seene to them all, wolde perhaps quycken them a litle. And now that we shalbe at Wingfelde, there will lack a post at that place, and an other betweene that and Newark, or Grawntham. Thus fare you hartely well, &c.

No. XXII.

To the Queene.

It may please your majestie. Besides that I have now writen to Mr Secretary of our conference with this quene, and of our removing her this day to Wingfeld, I thought fite to let your majestie understand how earnest, with great humilite, the Scotish quene in wordes shewith herself to do any thing that might lyke your majestie, and to do you service, wherof she wold shew good proof, if it wold please your highnes to trust her, and make a tryall of her, whilest she may do yet some good in the points of her late offers to your majestie, wherin her conscience bearith her witnesse (she saith) of her true meaning towardes your majestie and your estates, and to stay evell offices which som may perchance devise, not to hurt your majestie, but that may disquiet you in mynde; wherof she protestith before God she hath ben and wold be innocent, whatsoever your majestie may deeme of her; and is most hartely sory, that it hath not pleasid your highnes to send her answer therunto. And heere after she had rehearsed some things of those motions and offres, and wisshing still that your majestie wold make a tryall of her; and then if she wer fownd false, to use her according to her merits, from the which she cannot fly, being heere a good pledge, as she said. She concluded with a request, that it might please your majestie to give her leave to send one of hers to your highnes to delyver you her mynde at good lengthe upon those and other points, and to reply as your majesties answers may gyve occasion, and of your resolucion to bring answer. Herof she said she had writen in August last to M. de Maunissiere, to be moved to your majestie; but having no answer or mention in his lettres, which she yesterday receavid from Mr Secretary, she doubtith of the safety of her lettres. She beseechith your majestie further, to permit her to send the same messenger

upon his retorne, or some other into Scotland, to treat with her son from her, yet whilest there is tyme, in the presence of any whome your majestie will appoint, or otherwise; who, besydes her awne charge, shall doo your majesties commandment. Adding these wordes (which she seemid not willing shuld goo abrode, and therefore I thought meete to wryte them to your majesties self,) that if her son wold not follow her counsell, and stay himself upon the good will and amyty of your majestie, which is the thing that in this world she desyred most, fynding your majesties lyke good will and favour to them, she wold take her frends from him; and was sure, that without them he could not do much. When, said she, can be offred more? Heerunto was it said by Mr Somer, that many things happening sins and before these motions wer made, (and there sundry round particularitees were rehersed,) gave your majestie just occasion to mistrust of her sownde intention towards her; and, emong other things, the late landing of many Scots in Irland, to troble your majesties estat there, did shew some evell meaning of somme great ones in Scotland, and might be an impediment in this mater; and that if she wold have your majesties favour, she must deserve it; and the best way therunto is, not onely to avoyde harkening or encoraging to such enterprises, but to discover them as things dangerous to the kyng, and hurtfull to her self. She answerid, that she was ignorant of dyvers of those things that wer there rehersed, and wold not answer for other mens doings; and that she had foretold of some things, but was not beleeved; and that now she was altogether ignorant of any of their doings. One other thing she said, which is meete for your majestie to know, that she beleevith the strayter she is kept, the more will her son and frends seeke to hold harder courses; which she beseechith her majestie not to impute to her. And as to the landing of Scots in Irland, she knew nothing of it; but said, if she and her son might be sure of your majesties good will, he wold not onely hinder any such transporting, but wolde send of his awne peopell thither to healp your majestie in your actions in that realme. My lord of Shrewsbury can satisfy your majestie in the rest. And

therefore, leaving further to troble your majestie at this tyme, thinking it my duety to say thus much to your highnes of our doings herin, I pray to Almightie God, that he blesse and preserve your majestie in perfect helth and prosperite.

No. XXIII.

Theffect of the French Embassadours Lettre (to Queen MARY,) 8 *Sept. which is our 29th of August.*

That my lord of Leicestre had very honorably enterteynid him at the huntings in Windesore forest, which he had made for her majestie.

That he had understand nothing by any speeche of her highnes any thing of the Scotish quenes affaires, worthy the wryting at this tyme.

That of late her majestie hath had som suspition and mistrust in him for the Scotish quenes cause (occasion,) thinking that he was to partyall in her causes; but yet, by God's help, he doth not dispayr of some accord betwene the quenes majestie and her; and chiefly if the erle of Shrewsbery do comme hither to delyver this quenes intentions, full of all sincerite and good affection towards the quene her good suster, who (thembassadour) thinkith will resolve at this tyme, to make some honorable conclusion for the weale of theim bothe and of all this isle. Wherin the king his maister doth desire to be partaker as this quenes good brother and ally in their contentements and good agreements, when it shall please God to put to his hand, and to bring them all into somme good termes of amity, and to maynteyne his ancyent allyances with Scotland and the king of Scots, and to augment the good intelligence he hath with the quene his good suster, to take away all jalosyes and mistrusts on all syds.

His opinion is, that if this quene wold ask leave of her majestie to send M Nau, or some other, spedely to her majestie, and that before the erle of Shrewsbury's departure, he thinkith it will not be denyed. And

that it wold serve well to purpose that he came out of hand, well instructed from this quene to satisfy her majestie, considering the great suspition which is conceyved of thambassador in her affaires. Thinking himself unhappy that all his good meanings have ben so evell interpreted; but God is witnes of the sincerite of the king his maister, and of his.

That the coming thither of Nau wold further all things very muche towards a good agrement. That the Scotts king is in good healthe, and that thambassador thinketh that he will send a gentleman shortly to her majestie, which (is) Mr Gray, who was in France a yere agoo, and is now about that king.

In his Lettre to Nau.

That by his lettre he hath advised the Scotts queen to send up Nau to her majestie well instructed as is before. His great desire to see these two princes might be in good amyty together, and the king his maister with them, who lovyth them both as his good susters, and is lykewise desirous of the conservacion of the Scotts king his nephew, as of his awn son, which causith the French king to persist still to give him good counsell by the said embassador, according to his commission long since sent him.

That Archibald Douglas is entrid into this mater with great affection, to do good service to the queen his souverayne, and to her son. And God willing, shalbe fownd in the end to have ben a good minister in these so difficile maters, to bring them to a point of good perfection; and thinkith that herafter there shall not neede towards the queen and king of Scots any better recommendation for the said Douglas than theffect of his services. That thembassador hath fownd him honest, faithfull, and of as good wyt and understanding as any Scot that ever he saw; and is capable to be employed in good causes. And that if Nau come hither, he will take pleasure to know that man.

That if Nau come up, hit is necessary he comme before therle of Shrewsbury.

No. XXIV.

Talk betweene the Scotish Queen and me (Mr SOMMER), *riding from Sheffeld to Wingfeld. 2 September* 1584.

After she had againe uttred her grief of her long imprisonment, having spent her yeres from 24 to past 40, and by combre and impotency become old in body, she delyvered the lyke grief as she had done 3 dayes past to my lord of Shrewsbury, and Mr Chauncellor of the duchy, that the quenes majesty had no confidence in her wordes, when she told the troth to sir William Meldmay and Mr Beale,* as things have happenid since in Scotland; wherof, and of Mr Secretaryes evell usage and reception in Scotland going thither without her recommendacion, she said she foretold, but could not be belevid. And now that her majestie having found her true in that, if her highnes wold trust her, it shulde appeere yet that she hath meanes and credit to do her good service. I told her (as I had done thother day) that upon further proof, and leaving to practise, and to have unfite intelligence with her son, and som evell ministers about him to the trouble of her majesty, and of her estates, she might fynde her highnes her good freend. And that their wrytings which ar comme to her majestys knowledge, wherin is spoken of an entreprise in England, tending for her libertie and encressing of her son's greatnes, and so ment to comm to her, hath both greatly offended her majesty, and gyven her cause to think, that she the Scotish quene is a party in that entreprise, whatsoever it is. As for to have in-

* Sir Walter Mildmay secretary, and also Robert Beale, clerk of the privy council, the same who afterwards witnessed the execution of queen Mary, were engaged in a negociation with Mary, which was suddenly broke off by Elizabeth, under pretence that the Guise family were forming some plan for the Scottish queen's deliverance.

telligence (quod she) with my son, and to estyme of theim whome he makith accompt of, as his good servants, and doth so recommend them unto me, I must nedes do that; for if I shuld leave my son, who is to me more than any thing in this world, and trust the quene my good susters favour, which I cannot gette, I might so be without both, and then what shuld become of me? and as for my son, nothing can sever me from him; for I lyve for him, and not for my self. And therefore surely, said she, I must trust to th' one. But, quod she, if I might be assured and fynd to have the quene my good susters favor, and that she wold trust me in the points which I have long offered, and now lately movid, and in other good offices that I wold doo, she shuld fynd good cause to think better of me than she hath don; for, quod she, I have my sons awne hand yet to show, that he offres to be ordrid altogether by me in all things, who also hath sent me certein things to have myne opinion upon them: wherof he hath long callid for answer; but I have of purpose stayd it yet, and done nothing therunto, hoping that the quene my good suster wold have employed me in the good motions I have made. Therfore, quod she, if it wolde please her majesty to be servid by me, it is tyme; for in gud faith Mr Somer, I feare my son will take an other course shortly without my direction. Wherin I shall not be able then to stay him, as I am sure I can do yet. And as to the entreprise you spoke of, by my troth I knew not nor heard any thing of it; nor, so God have my soule, will ever consent any thing that shulde troble this state, wherof I seek the quyet with all my hart; for if any unquietnes shuld happen heere, it wold be layd to my charge, and so might I be in greater danger. And as to an other point, (which in deede I had told her then of an instruction *gyven to ung quidam*, to be sent to the duke of Guise, that he shuld hasten things, because the quenes majesty, as was there written, was about to cause the kyng of Scots to dy by an extraordinary death, (which was to great an indignite and irreparable wrong done to the quenes majestie my souverayn, as most false, and far from her majesties thought,) she said, that in deede my lord Ruthen had told the king her son so, as she heard;

but so God have her soule she suspendid her judgment therin. Well, madame, quod I, you heere what evell ministers do, thinking to do you and your son good service, but it is far otherwise, and therefore deserve small credit by hindering you, and thus to trouble the quenes majesty. But seing, quod I, yow disavow the knowledge of these things, and do offer to do so good offices for her highnes service, and to have her favour, may I be so bold to ask your grace, what you have thought upon the mater in particularite, and what you wold do to have her majesties favour. Mary, quod she, to perswade my son to entre into a good mutuall league, offensyve and deffensyve with the queen my good suster, if she wold so lyke of it, and therin to comprehende the king of France in respect of the ancyent league betwene France and Scotland; and as I know, quod she, the French king hath commaundid his ambassadour M. de Maunissiere to have speciall care of that, if any treaty shulde be talked of between England and Scotland. And such a league, quod she, wold be better for England then for Scotland, because England lyeth more upon those that have ben dangerouse to it then Scotland doth, and so shall those two realmes lyve long in peace, seeing no forayn prince doth clayme any thing in them. This seemith a very good motion, quod I, and a thing which the princes of both realmes have always sought by allyances and other ways. But hath ben oft empeched by forayn practices and ambition of somme of that realme; as namely of fresh memory, the motion of a matche betwen king Edward 6. and her. Therfore, quod she, it is good to looke to it now, whilest it may be holpen, assuring that her son well harken shortly abrode for a party, as he did already. Madame, quod I, what other thing have you thought upon in this mater, for you have good leasure? In good faith, quod she, Scotland is poore, not able to maynteyn a king, and therfore England must gyve good pensions, for so surely my son is so offrid in other places. And therby the queen my good suster shall gayne much; for by this meanes she shuld save gretly in her charge in Irland, where, if she nedid, my son wold healp with his folk to get her good obedyence, and shulde not neede (these two

realmes being so united in amyty) to spend her money to maynteyne the warres in other contreys to keepe her awne in quyet, naming what her majesty had done in France, and in the king of Spayne's countreys, who remembre, and have their eys fixid upon her doings. Besides that, quod she, all my kinsfolkes wold be her majesties faithful frends, whome she doth now suspect; and then commended highly the duke of Guise for his valyantnes and faithfullnes to his frends. There is another thing to be done, quod she, in this case, which must be my care, that is, the papes bull against all those of the religion protestant, which I will take in hande to deale in. That in respect of me being a catholik queene, the same shall not tooche my realme, though my son be a protestant, and then none will dare tooche thone realme for religion without offending both. Thus Mr Sommer, quod she, I speake playnly to you, that you may testify of my good will to do good, if it please the queen to trust me. And I wold to God the quene my good suster knew my hart, which in good faith she shall never fynd false to her, so as I and my son may have the quenes majesties favour, as aperteyns, being of her blood, and so neere. Madame, quod I, if yow meane therby any clayme after her majestie as you have been playne with me, so I beseeche yow gyve me leave to be playne with yow: that is, if yow or your sonn speake any thing in the world of that mater, either in any suche treaty as you desyre, or by other discours or message that yow may make or send to her majestie, I know that you shall greatly displease her highnes and her people, and do yourself no good; therfore, whatsoever yow or your son do think therof, leave of to deale therin, and leaving all to God's good will, be content wyth her majesties favour, otherwais if you hope to have it of her highnes, for she knowith by deere experience what it is to offend her majestie in great things. She thanked me for my playnesse and good advise, and said she wold not offend her majestie therin; desyring then that she might have at the least her highnes lyke favour and estimation as other of her blood had at her hands.

Then did I ask her opinion where as she thought, the king her son had fancy to match, and that I had heard of the princes of Lorrayn. She said there was such a motion, but thought it wold not be. And said that the duke of Florence had offrid his daughter, being of 14 or 15 yeres, and a million of crownes with her. Why, madame, quod I, do yow think that the duke wold sende his daughter from that warme and deynty contrey of Tuscane into that cold realme of Scotland; yea, I warrant you, quod she. She said also, that there was a motion made for a daughter of Denmark, with great commodite of money and friendship; but that crowne going by election, he was not sure of longer friendship then the old kings lif, and therefore had no great fancy that way. Then did I ask her of any offer of Spayne; she said merily so as her son may have the low countreys withall it wer not amis; but who can warrant that. But truely, said she, I knew of none there. But I am sure, quod she, my son will mary as I well advise him.

Heere falling into other talk, she asked me whether I thought she wold escape from hence or no, if she might. I answered playnely, I beleevid she wold: for it is natural for every thing to seeke liberty, that is kept in strayt subiection. No, by my trothe, quod she, ye ar deceavid in me; for my hart is so great, that I had rather dye in this sort with honour then run away with shame. I said I wold be sory to see the tryall. Then she asked me if she wer at liberty with the queens majesties favour, whither I thought she wold go. I think, quod I, madame, you wold goo to your awne in Scotland, as it is good reason and command there. It is true, quod she, I wold goo thither indeede, but onely to see my son, and to gyve him good counsell. But unlesse her majestie wold gyve her countenance and som mayntenance in Englande, wold go into France, and lyve there emong her frends with that lytle portion she hath there, and never troble herself with government agayn, nor dispose myself to marry any more, seeing she had a son that is a man; but said she wold never stay long there, nor wold governe where she hath receavid so many evell tret-

ments: for her hart could not abyde to look upon those folk that had don her that evell, being her subiects: wherof ther ar yet many remayning; for I had told her that they wer almost all dead. Ever in her talk beseeching her majestie to make a tryall of her, that with somme honorable ende she may lyve the rest of her dayes out of this captivitie, as she termith it.

This have I thought meete in duety to let be knowne to the queens majestie, because heere ar some very materyall points.

No. XXV.

Walsyngham *to Sir* Rafe Sadler, *Knight.*

Sir,

The French ambassadour hath earnestly requestid me to convaye the encloasid to the queen your chardg with speede, which you may cause Mr Sommer to oppen, and to peruse the lettres in the same, as the accustomid order hath ever ben, for that they are not oppenid here.

We had of late an alarm here out of Ireland of some forren intendid invasion by the kings of Spayne and Scotland* in that realm; wheruppon there was order taken for the levyeng of forces, bothe of horsemen and footmen, to be sent over to the ayde of the deputy; but by the last lettres receavid from thence, we learne, that the numbers of Scotts landid in the northe are not so great as the first reporte did make them, that the doubt of the king of Spaynes attempting somewhat against the countrey is cleered, and that the deputy hath taken so good order for thencountering of the enemy, both by sea and by land, as there is great hope that this that are already landid will have litle

* Ireland was in 1584 invaded by a band of Scottish islanders, who were reduced to submission by the activity of sir John Pervot, the lord deputy. In the next summer, they again took arms, and were totally cut off.

cause to take compfort of their comming, and that others of their countreymen will be warnid therby not to attempt the lyke hereafter.

Out of Scotland, we heare that the king in this last session of the parliament hath forfeyted dyvers noblemen and other persons of good quallity, to the generall discontentement of all good men in that realm, who do greatly mislyke this his strainge and over straynable kind of proceeding, thoroughe the only procurement and perswasion of Arran,* who caryeing now the whole sway in that government, and leading the king even at will, is becom so insolent, so offensyve, and consequently so hatefull to all men, yea, even to his owne frends, as yt is thought he will ere long both overthrowe himself, and put his master in great danger of some lyke mishappe. Great outward shewes and protestations are made of pretendid good will and frendship towards her majestie; but yt is thought they cannot be accompanyed with good effects nor sound meaning, so long as the king shall suffer himself to be led and possessid with so ill instruments.

For the matters of the lowe countreys, we heare that they growe desperat; the states have sent one unto her majestie, to beseech her to receave them into her protection, but yt is thought to be a matter of greater chardge then her meanes ean well reach unto. Wheruppon yt is lykely they will runne the porse of Fraunce, (being resolvid by no meanes to agree with Spayne,) which of what daungerous consequence yt may be for this state, I leave to yourself to iudge. And thus having nothing ells to imparte to you at this present, I commit you to God. At Stelandes, the 2d of September 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* James Stewart, earl of Arran, one of the most rapacious and profligate favourites that ever infested a court.

No. XXVI.

Sir,

According to my lord of Shrewsbury's, and my lettres to you of the 2d of this monethe, we have brought this Scotts queene hither, where she is well and safely placed, and all other things well as farre as I can see, with the same order of watche and warde that was at Sheffeld, and this day his lordshipe tooke their othes. It is surely a good bande of handsom soldyers well appointed, and all shew good wills to serve her majestie, to obey my lordships commandement in their charges, and so do I surely beleeve of them. Besydes those forty, he leavethe heere aboue iiij^{xx} of his housholde people, emong whome as officers and good guydes ar dyvers gentlemen of good sorte, and of very honest behavyour. I send unto you heerwith in wryting, suche talke as passed betwene the said queen and Mr Somer, on the way betwene Sheffeld and this place, set downe in wryting by him self, wherin are some very materyall points worthy the knowledge, if it shall please her majestie to harken to them, and to prepare her highness and yourself agaynst the coming thither of a mynister of this queen, if her majestie grant, which she earnestly desyrithe. As we wrote to you in our last, heere will lack a post, and an other at Mansfeld, who from thence shall cary the packets to Newark, and not from hence to Nottingham, and so to Grantham, for that is the longer way. My l holdith his day to comme towards you, and trustith to be at the court upon Friday the xi. And so I take my leave of you, &c. Wingfeld, 4. September 1584.

No. XXVII.

Walsyngham *to Sir* R. Sadler.

Sir,

Finding by such lettres and matter as this day I have receaved from my lord of Shrewsburie and you, that one Bentall is appoynted gentleman porter of the gates where your chardge remaynethe; I remember one thinge which I should specially have required Mr Somers to have tould you of before your departure, and that is howe hir majestie upon some information, holdethe a verie hard opinion of that man. Hereof I have now written to my lord of Shrewsburie, and to this end, that some other man of speciall trust and discretion bee put into the said Bentall place. I have not yet imparted your lettres to her majestie, and you may be assured I will be carefull to healpe shorten the tyme of your abode and chardge there as much as lyethe in me. And thus I commend you most hartely to God. From the court at Stelandes, the 4th of September 1584.

Your assured frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

No. XXVIII.

Walsyngham *to Sir* Ralph Sadler.

Sir,

I have ben of late so enterteynid with the lowe countrie causes, and the negotyacion of the commissioners come from thence, as I have hetherto had no leysure to write unto youe, which is the cause that your lettres of the 2d and 4th of this present have thus long remaynid

unanswerid. Her majestie dothe very well allowe of th' orders and your owne addicion to the same that you have sent, and of the removing of the Scotishe queene to Wingfeld, which she thinketh a neerer place then Sheffeld to keepe her in, for the reasons that I have alleadged unto you in my former lettres; and doth also verie well lyke of the reporte of the speeches passed betwin the said queen and youe, towching whos request to be licensid to send one hether to her majestie, whereunto she dothe perhappes looke to receave present aunswer, her majestie can growe to no resolucion nether therin, nor in anie other her causes, untill she have first had conference with my lord of Shrewsbury. For such packets of the said queenes as passe to and from, youe shall do well to cause Mr Somer to oppen them all as they have ever ben accustomid to be, thoughe yt is well enoughe knowen that no other matter is conteynid in the same, then such as they would perhappes have to be seen then otherwyes, have other secreat by meanes of conveyaunce for their matters of secrecie. Towching your request to be relievid of that chardge, bothe me self and the rest of your frends will be myndfull to do therein what we may when tyme shall serve; her majestie being of herself gratyously disposid to have consideracion of youe in that behalf as soone as convenyently may be. For the speedie conveyaunce of the packets to and from, youe may direct Mr Somer to take order the two posts may be placid where youe desyer with th' allowance of 20^{d} a peece by the daye, which I will procure, shall be allowid to youe agayne.

Her majestie doth very well lyke the reporte of the discourse passid betwin that queen and Mr Sommer, and alloweth as well of his wyse and discreete aunswers made unto her, as also of the questions that he propoundid to her, being right glad aswell in respecte of the furtheraunce of her own service, as for your better ease and assistaunce, that she made choice of him to accompany youe. And thus having nothing ells to imparte unto you at this presant, I commit you to God. At Barnelling, the ixth of September 1584.

Your assured frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

No. XXIX.

From the same.

Sir,

I cannot yet draw from hir majestie a resolution touching the Scottish queens request for the sending up of Nau. Mr Somer knoweth that we are long in our resolucions here, especially in matters subiect to iealousy which humour dothe dayly inerease. Her majestie doth mervayle that the said queen should like so well of the hard proceading in Scotland against so many principall persons of that realme; for although she may allow thereof in respect of the dislyke she hath of the said persons: yet considering the hard event that violent councels are accompanied with all, (especially in that realme,) she should for the savety of the king hir sonne, howsoever hir own passion carryeth hir, both wish and advise that a more temperate coorse might be heald. *

Besides hir majestie seing hir lyke well of so hard measure, yelded to such as are knowen to be affected to the amity of this crown, as a thing most beneficiall for the king their master, cannot but interprete it as an argument of little good will, born towardes hir by the said queen, notwithstanding the great protestationes she maketh of hir love and devotion towardes her majestie. It was rather looked for at hir handes that aswell in respect of the safety of hir sone as for the recovery of hir majesties good opinion towardes hir, she should have offred to have interposed hir authority and credit with the said king, by advising of him to take a more temperate coorse in his gouvernment, and not to suffer him selfe to be caryed by such violent councellors, as ether for their particular feedes, or the desyre they have to en-

* This alludes to the proceedings against Angus, Mar, Glamis, and other lords, concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, who were declared guilty of high treason, and driven into banishment. These nobles had been chiefly attached to the king's faction in the civil wars.

rich themselves with the spoyles of others, doe nothing regard the mislyke and hatred they throw him into of his subiects, which in the end cannot but worke their ruyne and his perill, wherof there have been over many dolorous examples in that cuntry.

Hir majestie, by the use of these and such lyke reasones could lyke well that she were drawen to offer to doo all good offices of mediation between the said king and his subiects; so as it might be wrought, not as a thing proceading by direction from hence, but by way of discoorse betwene hir and you, as one that wisheth the causes of iealousies between hir maiestie and hir were removed, and that good frendshippe might continew between the two crownes, whereof you see no lykelyhood if the hard coorse be heald on towardes such as are noted to be well affected to this crown. Now, sir, you see hir majesties disposition in this cause, I referre the ordering thereof to your good and grave consideration.

The erle of Shrewsbury is very gratiously used by hir majestie, who is very desirous to compound the controversyes between him and the lady his wyfe, a matter that will not be performed ouer easily.

I hope within 8 or 10 dayes to give you some comfort, touching the release of the charge now committed unto you; for my lord of Shrewsbury doubting to be surprised by his auncient enemy the gowt, will employ both his own creditt and his frendes to procure his speedy dispatch hence. The greatest impediment wilbe the sute he maketh to be discharged of the custody of the lady remayning now in your handes, which difficulty I hope wilbe removed.

Of late, one Creichton, a Scottish jesuite, was taken by a shippe sett forth by the admiral of Zeland, and sent hither by him unto hir majestie, abowt whom was found a very daungerous plott sett down abowt two yeares past in the Italian tongue for the invading of this realme. And although it was torn in peeces, and divers parts therof lost, yet have we gathered the sense thereof, which I sende you hereinclosed. Your charge there was made acquainted withall, and the young king hir sonne, and as we are enformed, gave their allowance thereof, which had been executed if Lennox had lived; and as by the same, Creichton

is confessed there is an intent and meaning when the king of Spain shalbe ridde of his low cuntryes trowbles to procead to the execution therof.*

There is of late a matche concluded between the duke of Savoy and king of Spaines daughter, a matter that dothe greatly offend and grieve the popish faction, for that they sought to match hir with the young king of Scotts. I thinke when the queen his mother shalbe made acquainted therewith by you, she well not rest the best satisfied withall. I know she hath for the space of these 12 yeares inclined more to Spain then to Fraunce. We find in all the plottes and discouveryes that have come to our handes anie tyme these two or three yeares, the French king hath no way been a party in them, which ought to move the queene the rather to accompt of his frendshippe, which is lyke to continew sound. So long as the howse of Guise shalbe no more inward with him then they are, of whose ambition the said king hath taken so deep and hard a conceipt, as men of judgement thinke, they shall enioy no extraordinary portion of his favour.

The state of things in the low cuntryes groweth to very hard termes. Gant and Viluord being already yelded into the enemyes handes, and it is likely that Brussels and Machlin will not long hold out, for that they doe already begine to enter into parley; so as if we doe dayly consider how our forrain healpes beginne to weare away, and our inward corruption doth dayly increase, we shall then see iust cause to feare the continewance of our happy peace that we have so long enioyed. I pray God it may prove a vayn feare, to whose protection I committ you. From Stelandes, the 16th of September 1584.

Your most assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* It is said to have been a plot for the invasion of England by the king of Spain, or duke of Guise.

No. XXX.

Copy of CURLE's* *Lettre to* BALDWIN.

Trusty frend and cousen, by this bearer I must advertise you, that I have understand of late the viage of the merchant of Newcastle beyond sea, (the removing of the Scottish queene,)† to bee intended and resolute upon the procurement of the factour at London, (the erle of Shrewsbury,) whoe we heare hathe been verie earnest thereunto. And the sayd merchant of Newcastell, his wyfe, (Mr Secretary,) is the principall dealer in the matter. Take heed of deceipt in that poynt, as well of my cousen (lord Thresorer) as of the neighbour, (the erle of Leicestre.) The carier and his man, (Mr Chancellor, Mr Somer,) seeme most readie to convey salfly what I doe committ to them, as they lyke nothing at all of the pedlar's doyngs (countesse of Shrewsburyes;) but for all this I will not trust them for the viage beyond sea (removing of the Scotish queene;) for the which, I pray you to consider well what you have to doe. For the fayrest weather is not allwayes the surest. Let mee know your mynd and resolution of all with suche convenient speed as you can. For accordingly I have to provide in tyme to prevent what thereof may fall owt. This howse the merchant of London (queene of England,) meaneth to borrowe for the merchant of Newcastell's (Scotish queene) usage, but he lykes not of it. And so, takyng my leave, I cease. This 20th of Sept. 1584.

Your frend and cousen at power,

(GILB. CURLE,)

WILLIAM WILBECK.

Superscribed thus—To my cousen and most deare frend, Thomas WilLecke, (baldwyn) gyve theise with speed.

* Curle was one of Mary of Scotland's secretaries.

† The words in parenthesis are the disguised passages elucidated by another hand.

Inclosed in the same copy is this illustration.

Queene of England, ...	1. The Marchants of London.
Erle of Shrewsbury, ...	2. The Marchants factor.
Queene of Scotland, ...	3. The Marchants of Newcastell.
King of Scotland, ...	4. The Marchant, his nephew.
Erle of Leicestre, ...	5. The neighbour.
Lord Thresorer, ...	6. My cousin.
Mr Walsyngham, ...	7. The marchants wyfe.
Sir Raffe Sadler, ...	8. The carrier
Mr Sommer, ...	9. The carriers man.
Letters, ...	10. Stoffes.
The Scottishe queenes remove out of my lords hands, ...	11. Viage beyonde the sea.
My lady Shrewesbury, ...	12. The pedlar.

Exempli causa. Yf I will write the Scotish queene shall not be removed, then to write, the marchant of Newcastell shall not goe beyond the sea, &c.

No. XXXI.

To Mr Secretary.

Sir,

By your lettres of the 16th of this monethe, which I receaved the 19th, I perceaved that the quenes majestie had not then resolved upon the Scotish quenes request, for the sending up of Nau. Which the same evening I imparted to the said queene. And least she might theruppon conceave that it wer refusid or insperat, I told her that this depeche was made upon her majesties first conference with my lord of

Shrewsbury of the mater, wherof nevertheless you had frendly advertised me; and that before, or at my lords returne, which you did put me in good comfort shulde be shortly, her highnes wold send her resolucion. She answerid, that when she remembrith so many fruteles answers as have ben made to her good offres and sincere intentions towardes the queenes majestie her good suster so long since, (though they wer not accepted,) she fearith still that through some crosse meanes she can hope for no better, using most earnest protestacions of her sincere meaning towards her majestie, whose long lief and prosperite she wisshed with all her hart; delivering also great grief, not without many teares, in that her majestie wold not use her service, and prove her in her offres whilest there is tyme for the benefite and quietnes of her majestie and realme. Then I told her that many dangerous intentions discoverid, and now this other day agayn by th' apprehension of one Creighton, a Scottishe jesuit, bounde by sea towards Scotland, had done muche hurt to the mater she sought for at her majesties handes, and then told her what was found about him. Therunto she protested deeply, that neyther by her self, or by any other by her meanes or knowlege, she had at any tyme dealt with that man, or with any other of those maters, nor did know him otherwise than by report, that one Creyghton was a good scholmaster to bring up children in learning. Humbly beseeching her majestie to conceave no hard impression against her for any such mater, for God knowith her conscience to be far from any such thing as is therein mentionid. Then did I remember unto her agayn her sons hard proceeding in Scotland, which (her majestie was infourmid) she lyked well, and further as in your lettres is noted; she answerid, that if she had ben beleevid in tyme, she wolde have interposed her credit and authorite to have done good. But how coulde she then or now do it, having no waye to send to her son? and as for her well lyking of that hard course against those noblemen, she said that she had not said so, but remembrid her former answer to the same point, that she knew nothing of her son's particuler dealing therin. But said, if her son had don so, it might be for example of

others, and to take away from other the lyke encoragement to offend their soverayn, and that these men have had their grace ones or twice before. This, said she, was her opinion of the cause of her son's proceeding in that sort with them, and referred to her majesties own conscience what was meete to be don to subiects that stoode up against their prince. Her son is king yn Scotlande, and for suche wolde be obeyd. Therto I said briefly, that these noblemen were well known to be well affected to the amitie of both realmes whiche they sought, and for that cause it is thought they fared the worse, though not so directly at the kings hands, as by the ambicion of some malicious and needye folks about him. She said that she wolde not answer for them that ar greatist about her son, for she had not appointid any of them to him; and as for the other, she referred to her son the offence done against him. But for her self, though they had offended her, she did with all her hart forget and forgyve them all, as she had ever done to all them that wolde acknowledge their offence when she ruled, hating nothing in the world more then sheding of blood, protesting that she is yet of that mynde, and with God's grace wolde so contynew. Therunto I answerid, that I was glad to heare her of that good mynde, and trusted that she wold gyve counsell to her son to take the lyke good course, which wolde to the lyking of his people and safety of his person, remembring the ends of violent princes in Scotland. And that seing we wer fallen into that purpose, I wished that she wolde offer to the queenes majestie to doo good offices of mediacion betwene her son and these noblemen, and others his good subiects, (and that needith some speed.) I will do it (quod she) if I may have leave to send, so as the queenes majestie my good suster wolde answer for them, that herafter they shall contynue good subiects to him. And so as her highnes will accept of her and her son as beeing to princes so neere of her blood as they ar. The same to passe emong other things in the treaty; for it wer no reason, she said, for her to procure such favour for them that have ben so unkynd to her and to her son, and yet be still eloignid from her majesties favour.

Now you see, sir, what she offrithe, (according to her majesties lyking mentionid in your lettre,) to mediat for these noblemen of Scotlande, if she may be suffrid to sende. Which being refused her, as she partly seemith to despayre of it, she dischargith her conscience before God to have done her duety, lyke a true and faythful meaning freende to her majestie, to have her favour now fowre or five tymes at the least. And beseechith her majestie not to charge her with any evell dealing to comme from her self, which shall never be found in her. For synce she gave all authoritie by autentick pour to her cosyns now 5 or 6 yeres past, to do all things that might be for her commodite by their discretions, she hath almost left dealing with any thing wherin she findeth great quietnes; yea, hath reiected some that have offrid to deale in matters, as some will do so long as she shall remayne here in this sort, wherof she saythe she will never beare the wyte. And that if she be found contrary, she is heere in her highnes hands to answer it, being weery to have so enlarged her self and her hart, as she hath done lately to me and to other with a sincere hart to her majestie, and can see no good comm of it; and therfore desireth her majestie to consider hir ranck, and to treat nobly with her, (that was her word.) I told her that I wold make her highnes acquainted ones agayn with her requests.

I made her acquainted with the matche concludid betweene the duke of Savoy and the daughter of Spayne, whereat she made no matter at all in shew.

For a conclusion for this time, she humbly beseechith her majestie, in case she will permit her to send Nau to her highnes, that she may also have leave at that tyme to wryte to her son lettres that shalbe seene heere, onely to let him heere from her, by that meanes to heere from him agayn, which may serve to entertayne him a while, and may perhaps stay some hard dealings untill things may grow to a further good course; and that these lettres may be conveyd by my lord of Hunsdons meanes, or otherways as it shall please her majestie to appoint. Thus am I bold to delyver our conference at some lengthe, and also this queens requests, wherof if her majestie doth mislyke I will for-

beare herafter to do it so, upon knowledge of her highnes pleasure. 21. September 1584.

No. XXXII.

The Erle of SHREWSBURY *to Sir* RAFE SADLER.

Good Mr Chancelour,* I do hartely thanke you for your lettre, being gladd to understand that all things ar well where you are; and for my retorne unto you, as yett I can write no certaintie, but am in good hope very shortly to receave some resolucion in that behalf. In the meane tyme I cannc but desier you to take in good worth that your hard entertaynement. And so with my harty comendacions I leave you to the Lord Almighty. Stelandes, the 28th of September 1584.

Your assured lovinge frend,

L. SHREWSBURY.

No. XXXIII.

From the same to the same.

Good Mr Chancelor, I do accompt me self very greately beholden unto yow for youre frendelye letter. I have ben trobeled with the sciatica and and not able to stoore abroode for certayne dayes past, in which it did please her highnes to send me her phisicions, and on Saterday last to visite me in person to my greate comfort. As toyching yoore continuance in that partyes, I do thincke yooe have some full resolucion from Mr Secretary before this present, and therefore I will

* Sir Ralph, it will be remembered, was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

forbeare to troble you any longer, and so with my hartyest commendacions unto youre good selfe, and to Mr Somers, do wishe unto yowe all hapines. From the coort at Stelandes, the 30th of September 1584.

Yowre assured lovinge frend,

J. L. Shrewsbury.

No. XXXIV.

From Mr Secretary.

Sir,

For that I fynd by your lettres, that you are verie desyrous to know her majesties resolucion, towching the queene your chardges request to be licencid to send Nau hether, I have thought good to let youe understand, that her majestie meaneth to deferre the same untill she have conferrid with Mr Davison, who is now come to London, and be by him thoroughly informid of the present state of things in Scotland. And yet her pleasure is you should entertyne the said queene with hope of the granting of the saide request very shortly, which you may say youe fynd by my lettres, as in deed I fynd her majestie verye well disposid to yeld therunto, wherof I thincke you shall heare more within three or fowir dayes after Mr Davison hath ben at the courte, but least she should conceave some doubt and suspicion of the matter, for that my lettre doth nowe bringe youe no full resolucion of her majesties pleasure, her highnes thincketh yt therfore meete you shuld let her understand that the cause of my present dispatch, was only to convey unto youe certen pryvat lettres of your owne, wherwith I thought good to signify unto you so much of the lykelihood of the granting of her request.

Towching the present state of things in Scotland, I learne by Mr Davison, that they are now about annother parliament held in the strangest sorte that ever was heard of. The king being loth to be

him self present at yt, hath appointid Arran to supply his place in the quality of viceroy, with full authority to proroge or dissolve the said parliament as to himself shalbe thought meete, the lyke president wherof was never seen before. For other matters we are enterteynid still with promise of the coming of the Mr of Gray, with full instructions touching the kings mynd and resolucion, by whom we shalbe hable to iudge what reconning we may make of thamity of Scotland.

But of other forren parts we have heard nothing of importaunce of late, saving that thos of Gaunt have concludid their peace with th' enemy. And thus having nothing ells to imparte unto you at this present, I commit you to God. At Barnellins, the 30th of September 1584.

Your assured frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

The 8th of the next, her majestie meaneth to have a full consultatyon, towching the coorse that by advyce of cownsell shall be thowght meet to be helde with your charge here; for that the earle dothe greatly presst her majestie for hir dyscharge. Uppon the resolucyon that shall be then taken dependeth your own release, wherof her majestie is carefull.

No. XXXV.

From the same to Sir Rafe Sadler, *Knight.*

Sir,

Her majestie fyndethe by the interceptyng of certeyn letters * that the queene of Scottes is verry curyouse to understande her majesties re-

* The letter from Curl to Baldwin.

solutyon by somme of her secreat frendes here, towching the changing of her keper, which she fearethe greatly. Her pleasure therefor is, that you shoold howld a vygylant eye over her, lest uppon dowbt of the chaynge she myght perhaps have some dysposytyon to seeke her owne lybertye. Her majestie notwithstanding woold have the matter so carryed as she might have no cause to thinke that she is mystrusted.

She woold be glad to understande what nomber of men you have there, and with what weapon they are furnished, and what gentlemen of strengthe and truste dwell nerest you to assyst yf need were.

I cannot yet get her majesties resolucion towching Naue coming up, which I suppose myght yeld that contentement, and remove from her sooche ielousyes as may perhaps drawe her to take some extraordynary coorse.

There is somme cause to dowbt the sowndnes of one Salter, a servaunt of the erle, whoe, as I suppose, supplyethe the place of gentleman porter; you shall therfore doe well to observe his doings. And so being commaunded to dispatche thes letters in hast, I commyt you to God. At the coorte, the 5th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XXXVI.

From the same.

SIR,

Her majesties pleasure is, youe should presently send up one Loggin, late servaunt unto my lord of Shrewsbury, who dwelleth within two myles of Wyngfeld, well known to all my lords men, and yet in no other sorte then with good words and incouragement, directing him with a lettre to me self. I thincke yt would do well that Mr Sommer should talke with the party, and use some comfortable speeches unto him. There is also one Hawkesworth a gentleman, well affectid, that dwellith within 2 myles of Sheffeld, one much mislyked of the queen

of Scotts, and that is thought can discover many particulartyes of the state of things thereabouts. You might do well to direct Mr Sommer to growe into some acquaintaunce with him uppon some apt occasion, and to use the best meanes he can to drawe from him that which may be worthy the knowledg. Yt weare also to good purpos that the gentleman should be perswadid to make his repeire up hether him self, and so I commit you to God. At the corte, the 6th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Loggin is to be dealt withall in sooche sorte as his commyng up may seeme to proceade from himselve, and not by dyrectyon from hence. I suppose when the place of his abode shall be knowen, some one of your men may most aptly deall with him for his commyng up.

No. XXXVII.

WALSYNGHAM *to Sir* RALPHE SADLER.

SIR,

A servaunt of the erle of Shrewsburyes, named Baldwyn,* being dyscovered to have secreat intellygence with the queen there, is apprehended; and for that yt appearethe, by a letter sent unto him from one of her servaunts there, that she is very curyose to understand whether she shall be removed from the erle's custodye. Her majestie thinketh yt meet, as I dyd yesterdaye advertyce you, that you shoold have a watchefull eye over her; and that yf your owne servaunts that attend on you there be not furnished with dagges,† or petronells,‡

* Thomas Bawdewyn appears from several letters in Lodge's Illustrations, Vol. II. to have been a confidential agent of the earl of Shrewsbury.

† Pistols.

‡ On one occasion Mary complained, that Shrewsbury's men had entered her presence armed with pistols. The earl was exculpated, and his conduct approved by Elizabeth, who

that then you shoold in secreat see to procure somme furniture, to be sent unto you from some of the well affected gentlemen in that countrye. I suppose none coold better furnishe you then Mr Adrian Stokes; but that he dwellethe somewhat far of. Yt is also thowght meet, that you shoold underhand learne howe the well affected gentlemen, next adioyning to the place where you now are, are furnished, in case uppon a sodeyn there shoold be any use of ther servyce, and so in hast I commyt you to God. At the coorte, the 6th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XXXVIII.

Sir RALPH SADLER *to* WALSYNGHAM.

SIR,

This morning I depeched unto you, and withall sent a great packet of this queenes for the Frenche ambassadour, and made mention in myne of the contents, as well therof as of a severall packet sent from hence for the larde of Baronbugall* in Scotland. The post of this place in his way met with yours of the 5th; by the which I perceave that the queenes majestie fyndith (by meanes) this queenes curyous seeking to understand her highnes resolucion, toching the change of a keep, and fearith it greatly. And that therfore I shulde have a vigilant ey over her, lest vpon doubt of the change she might perhaps have some disposicion to seek her awne libertie.

And toching the change of her keep, she hath often heald talke

probably would not have been sorry if an *accidental* fray had given opportunity for using them in her chamber. LODGE's *Illustrations*, p. 25.

* Moubray of Barnbougil in Mid-Lothian. The family were attached to the queen's party in the civil wars of Scotland. See BANNATYNE's *Journal*, p. 338.

with me therof, because she understoode by my lord of Shrewsbury himself his desyre to be unburdenid of this charge after so many yeres. And also for that dyvers winters past his lordship hath ben constraynid to keepe his chambre and bed for the gout, or other syeknes. And I assure you, (so farre as I can perceave eyther by her speeches or gestures at any tyme,) she wayethe not the change, so as she may be well used, and her person in safety; wherof (she sayth) she hath had some cawse of mistrust in former tymes. But yet is well assured of the queenes majesties great care for the health and safty of her person, as hath well apperid by suffering phisicions to comme to her on her neede, and by gyving her lycence to goo to Buckstones * when she requyrid it, wherin she thinkith her self also muche beholding to you. And as for any disposicion to seeke her awn liberty, (who so ever be appointed to be her keeper,) the tenderness of her body, subiect to a vehement rheum upon any colde, which cawseth a plentifull distillacion from above downe unto her left foote, wherwith (resting there) she is much paynid, and is sometyme a lytle swolne; and also the strength of this howse, having two wards, † the gentleman porter ever at the one with 4 or 5 in his company, and dyvers soldyers at the other. The watche in the night of eight soldyers, wherof 4 at the least ar alwayes under the outwarde wyndowes of her lodgings, and the rest walke about, which ar visited nightly at 10 and at 2, and furnishid with shot and halbards, besydes two that watche and warde day and night within at the doore going to her lodgings. And further, the hard passages in this contrey, which is compassed on every syde with wylde mowntayns and high rocks, and the villages about keeping watch. And the distance of this place from suche great frends, (I trust,) as ar able

* For licensing Mary to go to Buxton, Shrewsbury incurred queen Elizabeth's displeasure. When leaving the Baths, Mary is said to have taken her farewell in this distich, which is an alteration of Cesar's verses on Feltria:

Buxtona, quæ calidis celebrabere nomina lymphis,
Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, vale.

† Guarded entrances.

or do entende to do any suche thing. And besydes all this, the dwelling of so many honest gentlemen upon the wayes of passage on every side, I cannot see any danger of perfourming any suche attempt, unlesse the strongest part of this company wolde be hers, which I nothing mystrust, being such as my lord of Shrewsbury will answer for his, and I for myne, as hath ben severally signifyed unto her majestie and to you.

As toching the gentlemen of strength and trust dwelling neerest this place:* Sir John Zouche is on the east syde, sometyme at Codner, † 4 myles, and is now at Afferton, ‡ 2 myles hence. Sir Thomas Cokyn ‖ 8 or 9 myles on the south syde. Mr John Manours § towards Buckstons, 8 myles on the north west. Mr Curson the high shrif.¶ 10 myles on the south syde. Sir Godfrey Fuljambe** 7 myles, besydes Chesterfeld on the northe, and Mr Basset, besydes Darby.†† With all these, saving with Mr Fuljambe. ‡‡ I spake at a muster of the horsmen of this shire, about 4 myles hence, and do fynd them ready with all theyr meanes to serve her majestie when so ever they shall have any warning; and

* To Wingfield, a castle and manor now belonging to the earl of Shrewsbury. It was founded, says Camden, by Henry lord Cromwell, *tempore* Henry VI. "who built a very stately house considering that age."

† Codnor, or Contenere castle, anciently a seat of the Grey family, but which came into that of Zouch by the marriage of John de la Zouch, second son to William de la Zouch, with Elizabeth, heiress to Henry Grey.

‡ Or Alferton, said to have been founded by King Alfred. The castle had lords of the same name, and afterwards past to the Chaworth family.

‖ At Ashton, where the family of Cockain long flourished.

§ John Manners, active in the persecution of recusants. See Lodge, Vol. II. p. 372.

¶ The Cursons, or Cruzons, an ancient family of gentry, had seats at Keidelston and Croxton in Derbyshire.

** The ancient family of Foljambe, were settled at Walton, near Chesterfield.

†† Of the Bassets I believe of Brailesford.

‡‡ Sadler perhaps suspected sir Godfrey Foljambe, on account of the religion of lady Constance Foljambe, who was a catholic. If so, he did sir Godfrey the more wrong, for he was not only first to apprehend as a recusant this old lady, who was his grandmother in law, but moreover refused to restore her possessions, when she was discharged after a long confinement, and left her destitute in her old age. See Lodge, Vol. II. p. 372. 375. In the last, sir Godfrey says, "I have apprehended the lady Constance Foljambe my grandmother, and now have her in my custody, whom, by God's help, I will safely keep," &c.

to be watchfull in their severall lymits over all suspiciouns. The lord Darcy * is 18 myles hence, besydes Sheffeld, to whome I sent her majesties lettres, which were received most joyfully as a singuler comfort to him, with lyke dutyfull offer of his ready service.

Towching myne awn servaunts, I have heere 43 men, every man his sworde and dagger, some pistollets, and some long shot; and in every chambre where they lodge, (all within this house,) there ys for every man his halbard, or partwysants. And heere ar of my lords and of myne, and at my commandment, good horses and geldings standing in the stables within the base court of this castell, all to be ready upon a very short warning.

As for Mr Salter, now gentleman porter of this place, I have only knowne him synce his entrance into that charge, which my lord did meane to Mr Wombwell, as I wrote to you; but the gout kept him happely from it, being so paynfull and thankles an office. And surely as for Salter, I see no cause to misdoubt him; he observith his charge in shew very carefully; he is ever at the gate. If any other than ordinary repayre thither, he suffrith none such to comme in or to depart without my knowledge, and hath the report of my lord's oldest servaunts to be a very honest gentleman, and good servaunt to his lordship. And namely so reported by Mr Stringer, his lordships steward, † whome I fynde so carefull and serviceable, as he deserveth to be right well thought of. It is to be suspected, that the same parson who informid against Mr Bentall, late gentleman porter, may perhaps cast somewhat also in this mans way. If my lord have not told you of it, I can informe you of the trothe at my retourn; and yet I will observe his doings according to her majesties commandement.

* John lord Darcy, who had served with the earl of Essex in Ireland. He died 1587, Collins, Vol. VIII. p. 405.

† This gentleman was the son of John Stringer of Overthorpe, according to Lodge, and died in the 30th of queen Elizabeth. He founded the family of Stringers of Sharlestone, near Wakefield, whose estate came by an heiress to the Beaumonts of Whitby Beaumont, and from them to the present family of Westmoreland.

By myne of the thirde of this month, I wrote unto you myne opynion, that her majestie admitting Nau to comme to her from this queene, cowlde (as I thought) do no harme:* of that mynde am I still; for there must be an end of this mater, either by the death of this lady, or by some honorable composicion. Of the former, I see no other lykelihoode, but that she may lyve many yeres. For the other, I referre it to the wyse consideracion of her majestie, and of suche other as can look into the Scots kings disposicion; his caryeng at home, and by whome; his yeres; his kynsfolks, and frends abrode, (by whome, perhaps, and by other motions of allyances he is sought;) the respect also to the quyetnes of her majesties mynde, which I wishe with all my hart, and feare is too oft greeved with maters, growing by reason of this queene, and of her frends in favour of her, which this lady saythe still she will healpe if it wolde please her majestie to trust her, and to use her meanes and seruice, yet whilest there is tyme; and still sayth, that she beleeveth her son will do no thing of moment without her consent.

Thus you may see how muche I desyre her majesties quyetnes of mynde, a very precious thing to us all; and wishe that her majestie might be assured of Scotland, which by my knowledge many of her highnes predecessors in all the tymes of my service have ever sought, but wer still impechid by those meanes, which now may faile, if the oportunite now offerd in part, and her majestie greatly sought upon, be not overslyppyed. And thus, &c. Wingfeld, 8th October 1584.

* Robertson has well characterized this species of intercourse between the queens. "Elizabeth was carrying on one of those fruitless negociations with the queen of Scots, which it had become almost matter of form to renew every year. They served not only to amuse that unhappy princess with some prospect of liberty, but furnished an apology for eluding the solicitations of foreign powers in her behalf, and were of use to overawe James, by shewing him, that she could at any time set free a dangerous rival to dispute his authority. These treaties she suffered to proceed to what length she pleased, and never wanted a pretence for breaking them off when they became no longer necessary."

No. XXXIX.

Sir RALPH SADLER *to* WALSYNGHAM.

Oct. 14th 1584. *Copy.*

SIR,

According to the queenes majesties pleasure, signifyed unto me by yours of the 6th of this present, I have sent up unto you Danyell Loggin, who departing this morning, may be with you within a day after this. By reason of his absence from his house, I cowde not speake unto him untill yesterday; upon conference with him, I fynde, that (as he saythe) there was unkyndnes betweene Lewes the gentleman of my lord of Shrewsbury's horses and him; for that he infourmid his lordship, that he had caryed lettres from Lewes to Godfrey Fuljambe, and Tunsted of Tunsted: † wherof my lord hath hearde the whole discourse by way of examinacion, and did then put the same in wryting, wherunto, and to the parties owne report, I referre you.

Toching William Hawkesworth, at my sending for him, he came yesterday to me, from 6 myles beyonde Sheffeld. And after Somer had assured him of the good opinion which was conceavid of him above for his good affection in religion, and dutyfull obedyence towards her majestie, wherof he ought receave great comfort; he entred further with him to move him to discover som particularities what he knew, or had heard of the doings of this queene, or of any other in her favour in the tyme of his service with my lord, or syns. He answerid to the mater, that upon his allegeance to her majestie, he knew not of his awn knowledge of any particuler, or certeyn evell intent by the said queene, nor of any others in her favour; and began with his first service with his

* Tunstall of Thurland Tunstall, in the county of Lancashire.

lordship as a soldyour 6 yeres, then as long in the charge of Yeoman Porter in company of Mr Bentall gentleman porter. And that in the tyme of this last service there was some unkyndnes betweene Mr Bentall and him, which he sayth grew upon these occasions; that he being not so fully instructed of my lords pleasure as Mr Bentall was, as it fell out syns, did look more straightly to the passage of a groome of this lords stable, who had oft recourse to fetche provynder and other horsemeate for the Scots queenes horses. That he wolde not suffer one man to go so oft by the queenes horse when she rode abrode to take the ayre, for she had always one of the soldyours by her to lead her horse in. That he wolde not suffer the Drum-slawgher passages having skyll in surgery to resort so oft to a Scottishe boy, who had a verye sore leg, as it was required. And finally, for that he infourmid his lordship that Mr Bentall went sometymes to the chambers of Nau and Curle, the said queenes secretaryes, which he learnid after he did by my lords commandment, to see to the safetye of their wyndowes, and their walls of their chambres. These maters being brought before his lordship, he examynid them theron, and can make report of the whole; and synce that he knew not of any thing worthy the speaking of it.

Being demanded why was he discharged from my lords service, he answerid that it was at his humble sute to be quit of that office of yeoman porter, seing Mr Bentall and he cowlde not agree; and that my lord did offer to enterteyn him in the place of a yeoman among others, which he refused, unlesse his lordship wolde set him about some other thing withall. And therupon with his lordships good leave he departed, and lyved a while with his father, an old man, untill towards Mychelmas following, and then was enterteynid in service with sir Godfrey Fuljambe, wher he contynued not a moneth by reason of his father's sycknes, about whom he contynewid untill he dyed; and ever syns hath dwelt with his mother, an old woman of above iiii^{xx} (80) yeres olde, being made coexecutours to his father.

Being moved by good reasons to repayre to the courte, that both the

good opinion which was conceavid of him might be confirmid, and also to cleere thes matters whilest my lord was yet there; he sayde, that he was bownde in iiii^{xxli} (80l.) to pay certayn legaeyes, about Alhallowtyde, and was not all provyded to do it, the losse wherof wolde be his mothers, and his mothers undoing. Besydes the troble it wold be to his mother, being so old and weake woman, to have him so long from her; but protested, that he remaynid, and so wolde contynew her majesties obedyent subject, wishing himself to be hanged, if he wolde conceale any evell thing that were mete be uttrid to her majestie, or to any of her mynisters, and with that mynde did he serve his lordship.

Afterwarde I spake with him, and to me did he reherse and conferme all this above wryten of him. Craving humbly pardon that he might not be compelled to go to the courte, consydering his awne causes above alledged. But nevertheles offrid, that if he shalbe commaundid herafter to repayre up, he will obey it.

This queene thinkith the tyme very long, untill she may heere some good answer to her honest and lyberall offres, made with a good harte to doo good, and so beseechith her highnes so to think of her, (such ar her awn words). And the rather, because I did by direction from you put her in good comfort, to heere shortly of her majesties inclyning to her request for Naus comming up. And so I long as muche to be rid of this charge, wherof I trust that God and her majestie will delyver me shortly.

No. XL.

Secretary Walsyngham *to Sir* Rafe Sadler.

Sir,

I have receyved sythenne I last wrote unto you two sundrye lettres from you. The first gave her majestie good satisfaction, understanding by the same, the strength of the place, how well you are accom-

pagned with your owne men, and the assystaunce you may have at hande of the well affected gentlemen in thos partes uppon any doubt of wrong measure. Towching your latter letter, which I receyved this daye in this towne, I have not in respect of my absence from coorte acquaynted her majestie with the contents therof, whoe I knowe wyll well allow of your manner of proceading.

To the end you may see what hathe passed between Baldwyn and Curle; I sende you a coppye of Curle's letter, together with the cypher that passed between them. By the which yt appeareth, that Baldwyn is verry inwarde with them; and that they desyre greatly to knowe whether that queen shall be commytted to a newe keeper. Her majestie hathe for sundrye wheyghtie causes sommoned her parlament ageynst the 23d of the next moneth; but pryncypally for the dysablyng of soche as pretendying tytle to this crowne, shall seeke to dystorbe her present possessyon during her majesties lyfe; yt is meant yt shall not contynewe myche above twenty dayes. The only cawse of staye of her majesties not assentyng unto Naus repeyre hether, hathe growen by the attending of the master of Grayes coming, whoe is daylye looked for. Her majestie woold be lothe that Nau and he shoold have any dealynges together, eyther openly or under hande; for that he is a devoted servaunt of the Scot queen,* and in relygyon altogether addycted to poperye, and yet is he meant to be sent hether from the king her sonne, as an espetyal chosen instroment for the knyttyng up of somme strayter amytye betwene the queenes majestie and him. I am of opynion, that without that queenes assent, (whoe dothe altogether dyrect the king,) ther will be no howld taken of Scotland. And therfor I am (as I have ben always) perswaded, that ther shoold be somme tryall made of her offres, with sooche cautyon as she promysethe to give, wherwith I see no cawse but that her majestie shoold rest satysfied. The impediment growethe pryncipally thorrowghe a iealowse conceypt,

* How extremely Walsingham was mistaken in this supposition, the after conduct of Gray made sufficiently manifest.

that eyther of the two prynces hathe of other, which I see will hardely be removed. As thinges shall fawle out, I wyll not fayle to advertyse you; and so in the meane tyme I commyt you to God. At London, the 17th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

I praye you, sir, I may be commended to Mr Sommer, whoe I knowe is wearre of ease. *

No. XLI.

Sir RALPH SADLER *to* WALSYNGHAM.

Oct. 20. 1584. *Copy.*

SIR,

This queene being very desirous, seing she may not sende so sone as she wold, yet to wryte unto her majestie, for that the tyme, she sayeth, will not suffer her to stay any lenger, hathe required me to sende her lettres in suche sorte, as they may passe unsene of any untill they be safely delivered unto her majesties owne hands; and also she hathe now written a speciall lettre unto you, I thinke partely to that end, and another to the Frensh ambassadour, which you shall do welle to loke into, if you so thinke good; for that it hath not ben opened here. And therfore I have thought good, at her ernest request, to make this present depeche unto you. She is marvelouslie greved with the countesse of Shrewesburie; † for the foule sclaunders of late raised

* Vide Curle's Letter, p. 402.

† Elizabeth Hardwicke, the "wicked and malicious wife," as he himself terms her, of George, earl of Shrewsbury. She was proud, furious, selfish, and unfeeling; sometimes herself intrigued with Mary, sometimes accused her husband to Elizabeth of doing so in every sense of the word.

upon her by the said countesse and som of hers, as she sayeth, which having touchid her so nere in honour and reputacion abrode, she saieth she can no longer susteyne, trusting that her majestie will suffer her to have iustice; and that the said countesse may be forced either to prove, or to denye that she hathe sayed and don in that behalf; so that this queene either may be clerid and her honour saved, or ells convinced and used according to her deserts. Many other things she sayeth she can and will charge the said countesse withall, which she will first disclose to her majestie onely, and afterwards will avowe the same in sorte, as it shall please her majestie to permitte her. This, as I perceyve by her speches utterid unto me in generall, without declaracion of any particular, is the principall cause of her writing to her majestie at this tyme.

Your lettres of the 17th of this present, I receyved the 19th of the same, together with the copie of Curle's letter to Baldewyn, and of the cipher bytwen them; upon consideracion wherof, it semeth unto me, that these words (Mr Somer, letters) conteynid in the saide ciphre, to signefie the caryer and the cariers man are not rightly taken; but that the same words should rather be, as I thinke, som names of som other of the erle's men mete for the purpose; the trewthe wherof, upon examynacion of the said Baldwyn, I thinke wolde easelie be founde out. Wherfore, it may please you to loke better upon the originall of the saide ciphre, and to let me understand whether I may conferre therupon with this queene; and also with Curle, or otherwise as yow shall advise. Mr Somer, though he be very angrie with Curle, and so am I, as we have good cause, for that he hathe falsely belyed us both; yet I fynde Mr Somer, having a clere conscience, to be never a whitte troubled with the matier. In dede, his sinceryte is such, and so well knowen to all that well knowe him, that the sclaunderous reports of such false varletts as Curle ys, and Baldwyn, can not blemishe nor impaire his credite, wherof her majestie hath had good tryall by long experience. For myn owne part, I nede not to say much for his iustificacion in this matier; but in few words I will pledge my lyfe for him,

that he is a perfite, honest, faithfull, and good servaunt to her majestie, wherof he hathe shewid a good profe and tryall by his former service, as you knowe by good experience.* Let Curle and Baldewyn be as they ar, pevish, lewde, and false felowes, and their words and dedes be reputed, estemed, and accompted of thereafter, for they will faile when honest men shall prevaile, *quia veritas liberabit.*

I wolde gladly know what other matier shall fall out uppon the examynacion and confession of the saide Baldewyn, who I lerne is a very subtile and lewde person, and I feare there be some other of the erle's men as ill as he, which I wolde fayn knowe. And yet for those which be here, both gentlemen and yemen, I assure you I fynd them so honest and duetifull in all outwarde shew, that I cannot accuse or suspecte any of them. But if they be otherwise inwardely, which I cannot see, then is it not mete that this lady should remayn in this place, nor in this garde; for in that case, if they be false, it can not lye in me to discharge and answer this charge according to my good will and duetie, though I be, and will be no lesse vigilant and carefull thereof then of myn owne lif. And therfore, if it be meant, that the erle shal be discharged of her custodie, the soner it be don the better it will be in my powr opynyon. This castell of Tutburye† might sone be put in a redynes to receyve her, if by warrant and commaundement of her majestie, order may be given to the shreif of the shire, where the lord Pagetts house‡ is, to convey and bring all his housholde stuf, plate, and naprie, which is at hande, to Tutburie, and there to delyver the same by inventarye to such of her majesties officers as may be sent thither from thens, and appoynted to receyve the same to her majesties use, wherof I have thought good to put you in mynde; for that, if it be meant, as I say, that the erle shalbe discharged of her, then I thinke it not mete that she shoulde remayn in any of his houses, but that she shoulde be re-

* Somer was, and had long been, secretary to sir Ralph Sadler.

† Tutbury, or Stutesbury castle, was founded by a Norman warrior, Henry de Ferras.

‡ Lord Paget had fled to France on the discovery of Throgmorton's conspiracy. In compliance with what is here recommended, directions were given to the sheriff to transport the furniture from his seat of Beaudesert to the castle of Tutbury.

moved, and all his servaunts discharged as sone as may be convenyently. And as I have lerned syns my comming hether, the castle of Tutburye is a farre better and a more convenyent and safe place to garde her in then this is, and she may be sone removed thither, being within 14 myles of this house, whensoever order shalbe given to that ende, which I referre to be better considered where the resolucion and good expedicion therof doth rest. And so trusting that her majestie will remember her most gracious promise in respect of myn yeres, to release me of this charge, which I daylie expect; for that in dede myn olde and feble body is not able to indure the same; I ende with my most humble and hartie prayer to Almightie God, for her majestie most healthfully and prosperouslie to live and reigne the yeres of Nestor. God kepe you in helth, &c.

No. XLII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM *to Sir* R. SADLER.

SIR,

This bearer I have examined; he confessethe somewhat more then is conteyned in the examynacion taken by the erle of Shrewsburie, which shewethe the unsoundnes of Lewies. Her majesties pleasure is, that you shoold geve order for the apprehensyon of a certeyn owlde man, that this bearer chargethe with conveyeing of lettres betwen Lewies and Tunsted. He dwellethe, as the sayd bearer informethe, not far from Tunstead. You may use this mans servyce in the apprehensyon of him, for that he knowethe the place of his abode. I have geven him thre pownde for his charges, and for that which hathe ben layde owt by you employed uppon him, I wyll procure the repayment therrof at your retourne; and so in the mean tyme I commyt you to God. At the coorte, the 23d of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XLIII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM *to Sir* R. SADLER.

SIR,

Her majestie is now resolved touching Naue comming up hither; and to thend that under collour of comming, onely to deliver the queene his mistresse mynd unto hir majestie, he should not practise under hand with the ill-affected here. Hir pleasure is, that you shall send some well chosen and trusty man of your own with him, that may oversee his doings, and not permitt him to have any speach or conference with any in his way hitherwardes, as also during the tyme of his abode here to looke unto him, according to such direction as he shall receave at the time of his accesse to this court. And to thend, the sayd quene may not mislyke with this straight manner of dealing, to have hir servant passe under a kind of gard, hir pleasure is, that you should acquaint hir in what sort she is contented to permitt him to come hither; and withall to advise hir, that seing it pleaseth hir majestie to extend this extraordinary goodnes towardes hir, as to suffer a man of hirs to have accesse unto hir, and freely to communicate such thinges as he shall receave in charge from hir; that she doe straightly command him that he have no dealing under hand, and that he doe very carefully observe such order and direction as hir majestie shall give for the usage and carryage of himselfe during the tyme of his being here; wherin if he shall fayle, as hir majestie shall have iust cause therby to deny any lyke favour in tyme to come. So, in case he shall carry himselfe to hir majesties lyking and contentment, she may therby be provoked to condescend hereafter to the lyke requests, and to extend towardes hir some more favour then heretofore she hath don.

Hir majestie is also pleasid, that you shall deale with Curle, and charge him with his indirect dealing, as appeareth by his late lettres

he wrott unto Baldwyn, under the name of Welbeck, and to require him to explane such points of his lettres as are written in doubtfull termes. But for as much as it is lykely that he will refuse to make any aunsweare to any such thing as you shall demaund of him, concerning the contents of the said lettre, the same being written not without his mistresse direction, and will alleage that he is none of hir majesties subiects, and that he is not otherwise to aunsweare any thing that you shall demaund of him concerning the said lettre, then as he shalbe directed by the said queen. Hir majestie therfore doth thinke meet, that you should acquaint hir with his dealing underhand, (which because she cannot thinke but it hath proceaded from hir direction,) it might have given hir iust cause to have denyed hir request, touching the sending up of hir secretary; but that hir majestie considering hir earnest protestations that she hath made unto you since your repaire thither of the earnest and great desire she hath to be restored unto hir good opinion, and that the iealousy and distrust that heretofore she hath had of hir may be removed, hath put on a determination to make some tryall what effect these protestations will yeald. And thereuppon hir majestie thinketh you may take a very apt occasion to presse hir, by shewing of hir Curles lettres written to Baldwyn, to know what resolution she wold have taken in case hir majestie should have thought good to have removed hir out of the custody of the erle of Shrewsbury, and what cause she hath to thinke (in case hir majestie shall committ hir to the custody of some other) that she will not have as great care of hir safety and good usage in tyme to come, as heretofore she hath had, wherein it is thought meet you should presse hir in some kind sort to deale playnly with you in delivering unto you the cause why she should mislyke of anie such change as she doubteth. But touching this point of the lettre, hir majestie wold not have you in any case to deale with hir therein, untill such tyme as you have lett hir understand that hir majestie doth yeald to the repaire up of hir secretary; for that hir highnes conceaveth otherwise, that the knowledge of the intercepting of this lettre will put hir so farre foorth out of tune, as she

will not be easily drawen to deale playnly, touching the contents of the said lettre, and to deliver a true exposition of the text.

Hir majestie wold have you in some pleasaunt sort to lett hir understand, that both she and hir majestie are little beholding to Curle, by abasing them so farre forth as to bring them within the tytle of marchants, and especially the basest sort, that have to do with pedlars as retaylers.

It is also thought meet by hir majestie, that in the examining of Curle you should ask him what other lettres he hath written to Baldwyn, and what lettres he hath receaved from him; wherein if he shall not deale playnly, then hir majestie wold have you to move the quene his mistresse to require him to acquaint you with the whole coorse of proceading that hath passed between them, wherin you are to lett hir understand, that if she shall deale plainly, hir majestie shall have iust cause to thinke well of such protestations, as she hath lately made of hir earnest desire of hir favour; whereas, on the other side, in case she shall shew to have more care to couver Baldwyns errors than to satisfy hir majestie, then shall she therby give hir majestie iust occasion to continew that iealousy and distrust that she seameth now greatly to desire to be removed.

Thus, sir, I have lett you understand hir majesties disposition, touching the manner of proceading with that lady, which notwithstanding she referreth to your own great iudgement and discretion, to be ordered in such sort as by you shalbe thought best. And so I leave further to trouble you. From Hampton court, the 28th of October 1584.

Your assured frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

Thes letters had ben with you thre dayes soner, but that I stayed for the sygnyng of her majesties letter dyrected unto you. I pray you returne the cypher enclosed, and Curles lettres to Baldwyn, for that these are the originals.

No. XLIV.

Secretary Walsyngham *to Sir* R. Sadler.

Sir,

It seameth, both by a letter written by yourselfe and Mr Sommers, that you should stand in some doubt, that the view of Curle's letter should minister some cause of iealousy of some extraordinary favour extended by you to the quene your charge, which I doe assure you is nothing so. It were a very hard usage and an ill requittall of the fidelity of you both, (confirmed by so long experience of sound service,) in case uppon so weake a ground there should be so much as any little conceipt had by any here so greatly to your disadvantage. For the wordes in the lettre that may seame any way to concern you, agreeth with the direction receaved from hir majestie; which was, that you should safely send and deliver from tyme to tyme such lettres as were to be conveyed hither unto me, which being interpreted as a favour, is no other then was meant by her majestie. And therfore, sir, I hope that as it can not trouble you in respect of your innocency, so lett it not minister unto you any cause to thinke that you are so ill frended here, or so ill thought of, as anie such misconceipt should be had of you.

I have not of late been unmindfull to put hir majestie in mynd of hir promise made unto you, that you should not long be continewed in that charge. I have acquainted hir uppon the report of Mr Henry Sadler, with the coldnes of that cuntry, and of the fowlnes thereof by situation, wherby you are debarred of your wonted exercise, which hath been the chief and principall preservation of your health, which being accompanied with an extraordinary care in respect of the charge now committed unto you, cannot but shorten your dayes. Hir majestie thereuppon groweth to some resolution to take present order for your

relief, for which purpose I have receaved order to send for the lord St John, * to whom hir majestie meaneth to committe the charge of that lady. It is also meant, that direction shalbe given to the sheriffe of Staffordshire, who is presently at London, for the removing of the lord Pagit's stuffe to Tutbury. There shalbe also some body appointed for the making of the provisions of wyne and beare, wherin if we goe not so speedely forward as you looke for, I pray you remember that there is nothing so rare here as resolution, wherewith if you were not acquainted you might condemne your frendes of unmindfulnes and lacke of care of you; and so I byd you hartely farewell. From Hampton court, the 28th of October 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XLV.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM *to Sir* R. SADLER.

SIR,

I had forgotten in my other lettres to signefy unto you, that the lords and others of hir majesties privy councell being given to understand sundry wayes how some wicked and ungodly plottes should be devised and layd, for the attempting and putting in execution some devilish practise to the perill of her majesties person, (whom the Lord long preserve,) uppon an opinion conceaved, that no revenge wilbe taken thereof; have therefore, for the prevention of such ungodly and develish purposes, considered how convenient it were to be knowen, how ready all good subiects are and ought to be to labour to withstand the same. And thereuppon, uppon a common consent among themselves, have devised a certain instrument of association for the preservation of

* John, second lord St John of Bletsho. He contrived to get himself excused from so delicate an office.

hir majesties person, whereunto they have sett to their handes and seales, and taken a corporall oth uppon the holly Evangelysts, for the due observation of the contents of the same. The knowledge thereof being come abroad to the knowledge of divers good and well affected subiects, as the judges of the realme and the city of London and other gentlemen of divers countyes, they became humble sutors to their lordships, that they might be permitted in their severall charges and professions to subscribe and sett their seales to lyke instruments, which duetifull motion of theirs being by their lordships allowed of; there were by their order copyes thereof delivered unto them, as it is lykewise meant that any that shall voluntarely seake the same, shall also have copyes of the said instrument; whereof I have for your better understanding of the particular contents thereof send you one, and so byd you hartely farewell. From Hampton court, the 31st of October 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

Hir majestie coold lyke well that this association were shewed unto the quene, your charge, uppon some apt occasyon, and that ther were some good regarde had bothe to her countenaunce and speeche after the parusyng thereof.* The two inclosed packets from the Frenche ambassadour I have not perused, referring the same to Mr Sommers, whoe for the present hathe more leysure then myselve. The Mr of Graye† is arryved at Kyngeston; when he hath opened his packe I wyll then let you understand what stoofe he bryngethe.

* This memorable association queen Mary justly regarded as her death-blow, at least the avowed exclusion of all her hopes of succession to the English crown.

† This faithless ambassador was soon gained by queen Elizabeth's bribes and promises to act as a spy on the Scottish queen, to sow division between her son and her, and finally to connive at the murder, against which he had his sovereign's orders to remonstrate.

No. XLVI.

Association of the Nobilitie, &c. of England.

Oct. 1584.

Forasmuch as Almightie God hath ordained kinges, queenes, and prynces, to have domynion and rule over all their subiects, and to preserve them in the profession and observation of the true Christian religion, according to his hollie wourde and commandements; and in like sorte, that all subiects should love, feare, and obey their souveraine prynces being kinges or queenes, and to the uttermost of their powers at all tymes, to withstande, pursue, and suppresse all manner of persons that shall by anie meanes intende and attempte anie thing dangerous or hurtefull to the honors, estates, or persons of their sovereignes: Therefore we, whose names ar or shalbe subscribed to this writinge, being naturall borne subiects of this realme of Englande, and having so gratious a ladie or souverayne Elizabeth, by the ordynance of God, our most rightfull queene, rayninge over us these manie yeares with great felicitie to our inestimable comforte; and fynding of late, by dyvers depositions, confessions, and sundrie advertisementes out of forraine partes, from credible persons well knowen to her majesties counsell, and to dyvers others, that for the furtherance and advancement of some pretended tytles to the crowne of this realme, it hath ben manifest, that the lief of our gratious souverayne ladie queene Elizabeth hath ben most traiterouslie and develishlie sought, and the same followed most dangerouslie to the perill of her person, if Almighty God, her perpetual defender, of his mercie had not revealed and withstood the same, by whose life, we, and all other her majesties loyall and true subiects, do enjoye an inestimable benefitt of peace in this lande, doe for the reasons and causes before alleaged, not onlie ac-

knowledge ourselves most iustlie bound with our boddie, lyves, landes, and goodes in her defence, and for her safetie to withstande, pursue, and suppresse all such mischevous persons, and all other her enemies of what nation, condition, or degree soever they shalbe, or by what coullor or tytle they shall pretend to be her enemies, or to attempte anie harme unto her person; but we doe also thinke it our most bounden dueties, for the greate benefites of peace, wealthe, and godlie governemente, which we have more plentifully receaved these manie yeares, under her majesties govournemente then our forefathers have donne in anie longer tyme of anie other her progenitors, kinges of this realme, to declare, and by this writinge make manifest our loyall and bounden dueties to our said soveraine ladie for her safetie. And to that end we, and everie of us, first callinge to witnesse the hollie name of Almightie God, do voluntarelie and most willinglie bind ourselves, everie one of us to the other, ioyntly and severallie in the bonde of one firme and loyall societie. And do hereby vowe and promise, before the majestie of Almightie God, that with our whole powers, boddies, lyves, landes, and goodes, and with our children and servaunts, we, and everie of us, will faythfullie serve and humblie obey our sayd soveraigne ladie queene Elizabeth, against all estates, dignities, and earthlie powers whatsoever, and will, as well with our joynt as particular forces duringe our lyves, withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by force of armes, as all other meanes of revenge, all manner of persons of what estate soever they shalbe, and their abettors, that shall attempte by anie arte, counsell, or consente to anie thinge that shall tend to the harme of her majesties royall person. And we shall never desist from all manner of forcible pursuite against such persons, to the uttermost extermynation of them, their comforters, ayders, and abettors. And if any such wicked attempte against her most royall person shalbe taken in hand or procured, whereby anie that have, maie, or shall pretend tytle to come to this crowne, by the untymelie death of her majestie so wickedlie procured, (which God for his mercies sake forbydde,) maie be advanced; we do not onlie vowe and bynde our selves, both ioyntlie and severallie, never to allowe, ac-

cepte, or favour, any such pretended successor, by whom, or for whome, anie such detestable acte shalbe attempted or commytted, or anie that maie anie waie clayme by or from such person or pretended successor as is afore said, by whom, or for whome, such an acte shalbe attempted or comytted as unworthie of all government in any Christian realme or cyvil societie; but doe also further vowe and protest, as we are most bownden, and that in the presence of the eternall and everlyvinge God, to persecute such person or persons to the deathe with our joynt or particuler forces; and to take the uttermost revenge on them that by anie possible meanes we or anie of us can devise, and do or cause to be devised or donne for their utter overthrowe and extirpation. And to the better corroboration of this, our loyall bonde and association, we do also testifie by this writinge, that we do confirme the contentes hereof by our oathes corporallie taken upon the hollie Evangelistes, with this expresse condition, that noe one of us shall, for anie respecte of persons, or causes, or for feare or rewarde, seperate ourselves from this association, or faile in the prosecution thereof duringe our lyves, uppon payne to be by the rest of us prosecuted and suppressed as periured persons and as publicque enemies to God, our quene, and our natyve contrie; to which punishement and paines we do voluntarelie submitt ourselves, and everie of us, without benefitt of anie exception to be hereafter challenged by anie of us, by anie coullor or pretext. In witnesse of all which premisses to be inviolablie kepte, we do to this writinge put to our handes and seales, and shalbe most readie to accept and admitt anie others hereafter to this our societie and association.

No. XLVII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM *to Sir* R. SADLER.

SIR,

Her majestie woold be glad, that the present resolutyon of the Scottish quene remove shoold be kept as secreatly as may be, untyll Naues * arryvall here. And therefore some dexterytye is to be used, bothe in preparying of the howse, as also in the inquyerye that is to be made towching the poyntes wherin her majestie desyerethe your resolutyon, which I refer to your good iudgment and dyscretyon. I suppose the first provysyon of beere is to be made in some of the erles howses next adioyning to Tutberry. Yf her majestie hathe not woods of her owne abowt the seyd house, the provysyon of wood and coles wyll be verry chargeable. And so for the present I commyt you to God. In haste, the thirde of November, 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. XLVIII.

Secretary WALSYNGHAM *to Sir* R. SADLER.

SIR,

The quenes majestie is now growen to a full determination for the remove of the Scottish queen, which is meant shalbe performed abowt the 23 or 29 of this month; at what tyme the lord St John, to whom

* Naue, queen Mary's secretary, had in vain offered to Elizabeth terms, implying more entire resignation to her will, than his mistress had yet been brought to submit to.

the charge of hir shalbe committed, shalbe sent down, accompanyed with some gentilmen of good countenaunce to assist him in that charge. In the mean tyme, the erle of Shrewsbury hath promised to see the said quene, yourselfe, and trayn that attend there, furnished with all necessaryes. You shall doe well, in the mean tyme, to give present order for the putting of Tutbury in a readines, and that there may be some provision made of wood and cole. It is meant, that there shalbe sent from hence out of hand, one of the officers of the howshold with money, and certain purveyors to attend him in this service, as also one of the wardrobe to see the howse dressed up, and to receave such stuffe as shall be sent by the sheriffe of Staffordshire thither. In the mean tyme, I have thought good to send you a note of such points as hir majestie doth desire to be resolved in, wherein she desireth expedition.

By my last, I forgot to lett you understand, that hir majesties pleasure is, that you shall take such order with Edward Toky, * lately apprehended, either in the retayning of him, or releasing of him, as by you shalbe thought meet.

The master of Gray had audience upon Sunday last. He propounded no particular matter, but proceeded altogither in generallityes; in shewing how greatly the king his master desired hir majesties frendshippe before all other princes. As he is yong in yeares, so is he in iudgement, and therefore not best chosen to deale in great matters. It is thought that the king standeth now better affected towardes him then to any other man in Scotland. I leave to you to iudge what frutes will follow of that government, that is guided by a yong king, and by yong councell.

I wold be glad to understand aforehand when Nau doth sett forth, to thend I may prepare for his lodging, and give order for his usage otherwise at the tyme of his repaire hither. And so I leave you for this tyme. From Hamptoncourt, the 3 of November, 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

* See his examination, pp. 347, 348.

No. XLIX.

A Note of certayn Points to be resolved by Sir RAFE SADLER.

5 Nov. 1584, at Wingfeld.

1. What nombre of persons will suffise to garde the Scottish queene at Tutbury?

1. There ar at Wingfeld, at this present, of my lords servaunts, gentilmen, yeomen, and officers, about 120, and of sir Rafe Sadlers about 50, and soldyours 40, together 210. Although Tutbury house be much larger then this, yet I think that 150 men will suffice to gard her there, and not under, for 15 or 16 must wateh ther nightly; and if there be feuer, their turnes to watch wold come to oft about.

2. Whether it shalbe necessary to have any soldyors for the garding of hir, or whether the ordinary servants of the noblemen that shall have the custody of hir, may not suffice, without any further charge to her majestie?

2. I think it necessary, that of the said 150 men, 40 or 50 of them at least must be soldyours.

3. If it shall be thought meet to have soldyors, then how many, and whether it were better for the ease of hir majesties charges, to gyve them the ordinary wages of 8^{d} a day, or meat and drinke, with some allowance of wages?

3. The first part is answered before; and for the seeonde part, I think it better for easing of her majesties charge, to gyve them meat and drink, and some allowance of wages.

4. Whether the said soldyors may be lodged all within the castell?

4. There is roome inough, as I heare, so as there be beds provyded.

5. What number of horses were fit to be kept by the noblemen that shall have the garde of her?

5. I think 40 or 50.

6. Whether the said quene hath any horses of hir owne to serve for hir coche and her gentilmen that attend on hir, and at whose charge they ar kept now?

6. She hath 4 good coche horses of her awne, and her gentilmen have 6; whereof the 4 coche horses are kept at my lords charge.

7. What nombre of persons the said quene hath attending on her?

7. 48, viz. herself; 5 gentilmen, 14 servitours, 3 cooks, 4 boyes, 3 gentilmens men, 6 gentil women, 2 wyves, 10 wenches and children.

8. What nombre of chambers shalbe thought meete to be furnished for the said quene?

8. She hathe heere for her self 2, and for her maydes 3, besydes 2 for 2 women that have their husbands heere, and 8 for her gentilmen officers and meane servants; in all 15.—Note, That the 2 secretaryes, master of her houshold, her physicion, and De Prean, have severall chambres, and so have always had.

9. What stuffe she hath of her awne, and how much remaynith serviceable of that which was sent unto her from her majestie, whereof I send you a note, and how much were necessary to be supplyed?

9. She hath no stuff of her awn, neyther hangings, bedding, plate, napery, kychin vessell, nor any thing else, but occupyeth all of my lords; and what is to be supplyed, I cannot iudge, not knowing what shall be brought from Staffordshire; and as for the quenes majesties stuff which was sent unto

this quene, it is told me that there is in a manner nothinge of it servyceable, saving the hangings and a chayre or two, but is worne and spent; besydes much of the erles stuff that is also wasted and worne, as his officers saye.

10. What the quene of Scots ordinary dyet is, both fishe dayes and fleshe dayes?

10. About 16 dyshes at both courses, dressed after there awne manner. Sometymes more or lesse, as the provision servithe.

11. How many messes besyds her awn dyet ar served to the rest of her trayne; and in what sort the said messes ar furnished, both fish dayes and flesh dayes?

11. The 2 secretaryes, master of her houshold, the physicion, and De Prean, have a messe of 7 or 8 dishes, and do dyne alwayes before the quene, and there awne servants have there reversion; and the rest of her folk dyne with the reversion of her meat. Also her gentlewomen and the 2 wyves, and other mayds and children, being 16, have two messes of meate of 9 dyshes at both courses for the better sort, and 5 dishes for the meaner sort.

12. How the messes be furnished?

12. That is answered next before.

13. At what rates and prises vitells may be provyded in those parts, as also provision of horse-meat?

13. Wheat is at about 20s. a quarter; malt about 16s. a quarter; bief, a good oxe, L. 4; muttons a score, L. 7; veal and other meates reasonable good charge, about 8s.; hay about 13s. 4d. a

lode; otes the quarter, 8s.; pease the quarter, about 12s.

14. What stable roome there is at Tutbury castell?

14. Within the base court of the castell there is, as I here, for about 40 horses; and in the towne hardby, good rome enough.

15. By what tyme the house may be put in a readines?

15. I do not heere but that the house is in reasonable good repayracions, saving glasing and some other small things, which shall be don out of hand; and for the tyme of readyness, that restith upon the tyme of bringing the stuff and provisions thither.

16. In what place neere Tutbury beere may be provyded?

16. At Burton, 3 myles off; and if Mr Henry Candishe brewhouse in Tutbery may be borowed, sufficyent quantite of beere may be brued there, and so the contrey much eased in caryage, besyds the readiness. Heere is to be considered to have provision made of sufficient plate, napry, and kyching stuff, and all other implements of housholde, as for the buttry, pantry, chambres, &c.

17. What proportion of wyne is spent by the said queene and her trayne yerely?

17. About 10 ton a yere.

18. As toching wood and cole, mentioned in your lettre; the quenes majestie hath woods, good store, harde ioyning to Tutbury, whereof cole may be made. As for sea cole, which is much used in this contrey, and compted their best feuell, there ys none neerer than 6 miles from

Tutbery, and order is already this day sent to make ready wood and cole there.

No. L.

Sir Ralph Sadler *to Mr Secretary.*

6 November. *Copy.*

Sir,

According to the queenes majesties commandment, by her lettre of the last of Octobre, which, with yours, I receavid the thurde of this present, I imparted to this queene her majesties assent, that her secretary Nau shall repayre to her highnes, and other points of that lettre, according to her majesties direction. This quene accepted that her highnes favour, with very harty thanks, and earnest words of her sincere meaning towards her highnes as might be spoken, and shewed great grief of mynde, that by reason of a distillacion fallen into her right arme, which also possessid that hande, and for the which she had kept her bed then iij dayes, and lytle mended, she cowlde not wryte that which she had promysed with her awne hande so sone as her hart wished, but wold make her stay her man ij or three dayes the longer in hope of more strength; which happening not, she wolde cause Nau to wryte it, and wolde subscribe it, and so sone as by health and strengthe she coulde, she wolde confirme the whole with her awne hande. In deede I found her in that state which she spared not to shew, besyds the distillacion into her left legge and foote. Also, according to your direction, I prayd her to charge Nau to cary himself in such even sort as by any indirect dealing he might not procure her majesties mislyking, but by intending only the matter of his charge, he shulde mak good his mistres earnest protestacions and further as you wrote. She promysed faithfully that she wold not fayle to gyve him such charge.

He hath ben also particularly dealt withal in that point; so as, I trust, he will remember the danger that may ensew of the contrary. Nau thinking to depart hence vpon Monday or Teusday next, and traueling vpon his own horses, and some hyred, in all vi or 7, thinking to be at London about Friday or Saterday following, I haue appointed John Dauet to go vp with him for the cause you wrote, and will direct Dauet to some inne in Brutes-street; and vnlesse he fynde there other direction from you the next day to Kyngstone, there to stay in some in, untill you shalbe therof advertised, or be otherwise directed. But vpon the certeyne day of his departure, I meane to aduertise you therof by post.

As toching Curle and that pevishe dealing, like himself, he hath ben delt withall in apart and before the quene his mistres, about the lettre and cipher so vaynly sent to Baldwyn, and both sheued and read with good leasure. But, for any thing that can be sayed, or friendly threats, with extraordinary speeches, he standith to the denyall, to be none of his doing. And as to herself, she sueareth by her troth she knew nothing of it, saying, that she comandid, that if her majestie did deale therin with Nau, he should satisfy her highnes so farre as he knoweth. But Curle, being charged with his knowledge and consent to it, though not of his doing, he ansuerede but fayntly to that, saying, that if it had ben don with her knowledge, he euld not be blamed, for it conteyneth nothing that may be construed in evell part; conteyning no mater against her majestie or her state, or practise for the queen his mistres. And as to these words, "for accordingly I have to provyde in tyme to prevent what therof may fall out," he sayth he can make no evell exposition of them; for that the party might meane he wolde seke to be in the hands of such as he might not suspect of evell devotion towards him. So as heere is nothing to be gotten, seing they all ar ashamed to confesse it, but yet you may see hou neere he is drawne to it. Then did I demande the quene in mery sort, what she meant to be so curious to know of her remoue, because it was so mentioned in that lettre, praying her to deale playnly with me, what she

wolde do if any remoue of change happened. She answered agayn, that as concerning that lettre, she knew nothing; but touching her doubt of remoue, she said she wolde be loth to be in the custody of some: but wayed not the departure from my lord of Shrewsbury's custody, so as she might be in safety in an honorable place, vnder the custody of some honourable person, who, by his meanes and credit, might be able to defende her against all harmes, and that wolde make accompt of her to the quenes majestie her good sister; of whose good favor towards her she said she neuer doubted, but was assured of her for her part. I did assure her for ansuer for the place and person such as she desyred, and persuaded her as much as I coude, to renunce from her mynd all such vayn suspicions which did hunte her. And so I left her, being muche payned with her prest, and weakened for lak of sleepe and by abstynence, and yet somewhat releved therof, and in hart much comforted, through this her majesties fauour towards her. I haue yet forboren to shew her the association of the noblemen vntill she be in better strengthe.

The vth of this present I receaued others from you of the 3^{d}, shewing her majesties resolution to haue this queen remoued to Tutbury on the xx or 22 of this month, and her highnes pleasure to sende my Lord St John thither about that tyme, and another gentleman of good countenaunce, to assist him in that charge, signifyeng also, that my Lord of Shrewsbury hath, by her majesties ordre, assented to furnishe all things here yet xx dayes longer; directing me also to gyue present ordre to put Tutbury in a readines; and also certeyn maters toching that seruice, whervnto her majestie wolde be answered from hence. To the first, as very welcome to me, I am most hartely glad, and do thank her majestie that it hath pleased her to take such a resolution as I trust now will shortly and joyfully bring me to her ma^{ties} presence. For the provisions here, Mr Stringer, my lords steward here, hath signifyed so moche to me, which shalbe perfourmid, saving for horsmeat, which can not be furnished so long; for some must be reserved against

my lords returne. And therfore I must be fayne to make all provision for my horses, saving for vi or viii, to remayne at my lords charge.

I haue sent this day a discreet and skilfull person of myne to Tutbury, to joyne with Mr Agarde there, to take order for the glasing, and such other things to bee amended there as the tyme of the yeir and shortnes of the tyme will suffer, and ar necessary to be done. And as to the said maters, vpon conferrence with my lords officers, I haue set down seuerall ansuers to them all, so far furthe as I am able to doo for the tyme.

Toching Edward Toky; by this tyme you haue seen, by lettres which I sent to you, ii dayes now past, that he hath ben besyds himself, and of that humour remaynith he yet in som sort, bot not very easy to be decernid but by vse and muche questyon with him. And therfore, vpon your lettre, leaving the stay or release to my consideracioun, I meane to pray Mr Shirif to delyuer him, and to take order that he be conveyd from one offycer to another, tyll he be delyvered to his father, to be ordered as he knoweth by experience to be meete.

Vpon your lettres broght to me by Danyell Loggen, I sent for the party, who he said was a conveyer of lettres betwene Leues, my lord of Shrewsbury's man, and Tunsted, and was broght to me vpon Thursday last, by Mr John Wamers meanes, who took the paynes and care therof. By his examinations herwith sent, you shall see that he denyeth all; which, to confirme, he was ready to take an othe, vpon the Byble being offred him. But because I doubted of his dessembling, I wolde not suffre him to take his othe. My doubt grew for that he denyed to haue at any tyme seen Loggyn, or ben yn his companye, who, neuertheles, rehearsed sundrie particularities of their being together at Robert Tunsteds house, and drynking together at Sheffeld, all within this twelvemoneths. Heervpon I committed him to Mr Shirifs custody vntill he shall heare further from me. Wherin it may please you I may vnderstande what I shall do farther.

This Q. saythe she knoweth not the Mr of Gray, nor of what state

or credit he is in Scotland; that she was very yong when she came out of that cuntrey.

This afternone, vnderstanding that the Q was somwhat better of her arme and hande, but yit kept her bed, I thought good sende Mr Somer vnto her, to know of the tyme that Nau might be ready to depart hence. She answered as I haue wryten, that she trustyth Teusday shuld be the furthest, and her hand waxed strong to write to her majestie the things she had promised. And wheras Nau had moved that he might go by Londen, Mr Somer thought good to advise her to commande Nau not to pass that way, least the French ambassador might mislyke that he saw him not, and to avoyde the ambassadors evell opynion therin advised with this queen, that Nau shulde lodge a few myles short of Londen, and then ryde streght to Kingstone, without entring into Londen vntill he had ben with her majestie. She lyked very well therof, and said she wold so direct him. Herof you shall be furder certyfied, at the tyme of his departure hence. Then Mr Somer did by my appointment, according to your direction, make her acquainted with the association of the noblemen. She gaue good eare to it, and sayde it might be drawne to meane her by many of the words therof, as *some pretended titles to the crowne, by what color or title they shall pretend to be her majesties enemys*, and such lyke wher these words ar rehearsed, sayeng, that some evell person may quarrell with her vpon suche wordes to be her majesties enemy, and so do her displesure. It was answerid, that she fynding herself cleere, and not meaning any such attempt, nor to make open shew of such pretence, neede not mistrust her majesties care of her, wherof she hath good proof, for the words wer generall, and did restrayn others that wolde perhapps be as busye as she that way, if they wer not thus restrayned. Therfore, vpon some discouered lewde ententyons and practises, this was voluntarily sought and dyvysed by the nobilitie in this dangerous tymes, to meete withall such indifferently and generally. And when it came to these words, *all maner of persons, &c. and ther abetters, that shall attempt, by any art, counsell, or consent, to do any thing that shall tend to*

the harme of her majesties royall person, she sware that she lyked it so well, as she wolde with all her hearte, being assured of her majesties fauor, subscribe to that point, and wold stande as fast by her majestie, and serve her in as good stead as any subject her highnes hath in England, by healping to suppresse both books and any other things that might be practised abrode against her, if any wer; which she spake with great earnestness, and said she wold specially instruct her secretary to holde purpose therof to her majestie.

I haue thought good to remember vnto you, that at my last coming to Sheffeld to tak this charge in thabsence of the E. of Shrewsbury, which I signifyed by speeche onely to this Q., and for her better satisfaction, was fayne to shew her majesties lettre writen to his lordship, and an other to me to that ende. She thoght muche, that vpon suche change of garde and place, it did not then please her majestie to let her know so muche by some writing to herself. And therfoore, now that his lordship is to depart quyte from the custody of her, and she to be under the charge of others, and to be removid to an other place, before such tyme as she shalbe removid to Tutbery, if it please the Q. majestie, by her majesties owne lettres, though not written with her majesties owne hand, but signed with her highnes sign manuel, to signefie vnto her som cause of her removing, and to whose custodye she shall be committed, wherof surely she is very jealous, surely she wold take it very kyndely and most thankefully, and we should fynde her the more willing and conformeable to remove; otherwise I feare we shall have more ado with her then I wolde wishe, to induce her willingly to remove, vntill she may vnderstonde her majesties pleasure by her highnes owne lettres, which I referre to her majesties good consideracion.

No. LI.

Copy of a Letre to the Sherife of Staffordshire, from my L. *Thesaurer, Mr Secretary, &c.*

After our, &c. Hir majesties pleasure is, that according to such direction as shalbe sent vnto you from Sir Rafe Sadler, you shall see conveyed to Tutbery castle so much of the L. Pagets howshold stuffe committed to your custodye, as he shall signefy vnto you to be needfull for the furnishing of the said castle; where you shall find certain persons ready to receaue the same at your handes, sent specially from hence for the purpose, as one of her majesties wardrob, for such percels as belong to his charge, and one Bryan Cave, gent. ane of the coffereers clarkes, for such other implements of howshold as the said Sir Rafe Sadler shall thinke needful to be employed there, who shall deliuer vnto you by byll indented, a sufficient discharge for so much as shall come into their seuerall charges. And for the more speedy conveyance of the sayd stuffe, we have prayd Sir Rafe Sadler to send vnto you his commission which he hath vnder hir majesties hand, to take vp so many caryages as you shall need. And so referring you to his further direction, which you are in all points concerning this seruice to obey, we byd you farewell. From London, the 7th of Nov. 1584.

No. LII.

From the Lord Thesaurer, Mr Secretary, and Mr Mildmay, *to Sir* Rafe Sadler.

After our harty commendations. This bearer, Bryan Cave, gent. one of the coferers clarkes, is sent down, by order from hir majestie, to

make such prouisions at Tutbury castle as shall be by you vppon conference thought meet to be made, both for the dyets of the Scots queen and the nobleman that shall haue the custodye of hir. For which purpose there is deliuered unto him five hundred poundes by way of imprest, to be employed that way, as also a commission to take vp the said prouisions at reasonable prices. It is also thought meet to send doun with him one of her majesties wardrob to prepare the house, and to take into his charge both the wardrob stuffe of hir majestie which is there already, and such other as by you shalbe thought meet to be used of the L. Pagets, being in the charge of the sherife of Staffordshire, whereof you shall also herewith receaue an inventory; and vpon the receipt thereof, we haue ordered that he shall deliver vnto the sherife a discharge for the same; for which purpose, the enclosed lettre is directed to the said sherife, to signefy vnto him hir majesties pleasure for the deliuery, as well of the wardrob stuffe vnto hir majesties said servant of the wardrob, as of all other necessary implements of howshold that you shall thinke needful to be vsed, vnto the said Cave, gent., who shall give him a discharge for so much as he shall receave, by byll indented. And for that it is conceaved, that for the conveying thereof from the L. Pagets howse vnto Tutbury, the sheriffe shall need some healp of the cuntry for carryages, it is thought meet that your commission which you have vnder hir majesties hand, should be sent vnto him to serve his turn for the tyme that he shall need it. And so we byd you hartely farewell. From London, the 7 of November, 1584. Your very loving frendes,

W. Burghley.
Fra. Walsyngham.
Wa. Mildmay.

No. LIII.

Sir Francis Walsyngham, *to Sir* Ralph Sadler.

Sir,

Your lettres of the vii^th^ of this present I have receaved, though not yet communicated the contents therof to her m^ty^. And where, by my former, I did put you in hope that the L. St John would be there with youe by the xx^th^ or xxiii^d^ of this moneth, yt falleth out nowe that he cannot be there so soone, for that it wilbe the nyneteuth or twentethe ere he come to the courte, being but verye latelie come out of his dyet; wherof I haue geuen knowledge to my lord of Shrewsbury, to thend he may geue order for thenlarging of his provisions accordingly. This day there setteth forth from London one Cave, a gentleman belonging to the coferrer here, as his clerk, to make prouisions in thes parts for the howshold and garrison that is to attend vppon the queene. I thinke it were well at his cominge to youe, that there weare an estimat set down of the chardges that the allowaunce will arrise vnto by the moneth and by the yere. Thus much I haue thought good to make you acquainted withall, vntill I haue impartid the contents of your lettres to her majesty, at which tyme you shall heare further from me. For forren newes, we vnderstand that bothe the kynges of Fraunce and Spayne haue of late ben very sicke, and, as it is thought, in some danger; the first of an impostume, that is broken out at his eare, and thother of a burning ague. And thus, having nothing ells to imparte vnto you at the present, I commit you to God. At Nonesuche, the x^the^ of November, 1584. Your assured frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

Indorsed: From Mr Secretary.
R. 13. p. post.---Toching my L. St Johns coming; a longer supply at Wingfeld.

No. LIV.

The Same to the Same.

Sir,

I have impartid vnto hir majesty the contents of your lettres of the viijth of this present, who doth verie well like of the manner of your proceeding with the queene, your charge, as also of her aunswers, especially those that concerne the matter of the assocyatioun, wherin Mr Sommer dealt with her, and is nowe vere desyrous to understand thos things that Nau is further to delyver vnto her.

Your postills to the points wherin I desyrid your resolucioun, I have not yet made her majesty acquaintid with all, but only shewed them to my L. Thesaurer, who is of opinion, in that point concerning the number fitt to be appointed for the said queenes garde, that fortye men addid to the trayne of the nobleman, which is to consist of as many more, wilbe sufficient for that turne, in a place of so good strength as the castell of Tutburye is.

We did consider whether it weare best to vitall the souldiours, or to allowe them their whole pay of eight pence by the daye, and haue found yt more convenyent for the ease of the cuntrye, and avoyding the trouble of dressing of meate, to allowe them their wages in monye, no great oddes appearing besides betwin thes two kyndes of allowances. And therfore it will be well, that Cave, at his coming to you, do set downe an estimat of the monethly and yerely chardges for a proportioun for forty of the noblemans trayne, and so manye more as are to be addid to that number that attend vppon the queene. The wardrobbe man that I promised to send vnto you to receaue the stuffe, is fallen sicke, and there is not any other now that is fitt for that purpos; therefore you shall do well to appoint some apt seruaunt of your

owne to serue that turne. And so I commit you to God. At London, the xith of November, 1584. Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LV.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Thorder for the remouing of the Scotishe queene being referrid over to the consideracioun of the L. Thesaurer, the earle of Leycester, and meselfe, theis points following haue ben therein concludid:

That she should be remouid at the tyme by you mencionid, yf the same might conveniently be done, the howse being put in a readines for that purpos. There is order taken for the sending downe of plate, sheetes, and naperye, for the furniture of the howse; and because thos things cannot well be sent downe before the tyme of the remoue, the earle of Shrewsbury shalbe mouid to furnishe the plate in the mean tyme, which yt is thought his L. will willinglie doe, to thend he may be the more speedily easid of the chardge he is presently at. And for the furniture of lynnen, you are to imploy your credit with the gentlemen in that countrie, and her m^{ties} tennaunts. And there wilbe order taken the same shalbe sent down by thend of this moneth, so as yt is hopid they will make the lesser difficulty to supply the want, by the loane of their owne for so short a tyme. It is thought meete, for the better garde of the queene, that youe should leauye forty souldiors amongest her m^{ties} tennaunts there, by virtue of your commission, which number is thought sufficient to serve that turne, considering the strength of the house; th' increace wherof, notwithstanding, is referrid to your discrecioun. And that yt shall suffise that six doe watche nightlye, some two of your servaunts being appointid to ouerlooke them; wherein youe are also to vse your discretioun as you shall see

cause. For thinterteynment of the said souldiors, yt is left to your owne considerationn to allowe them wages, or meate and drinke, with some portioun of monye; wherein yt is thought there wilbe more trouble then in geving of them wages, in respect of the dressing of their meate, and the pestring of the howse; for the ease wherof, yt is also thought meete, (yf by yourself yt shall be so found convenyent) that the said souldiors (saving the number appointid to watche) shalbe lodgid in the towne; and for th' easing of her majesties chardges, and the pestering also of the howse, yt is thought meete you should move the Mr of the queenes howshold to take order for the disposing elswhere of the ten children, wherof there is mencioun made in the postills sent by youe. Towching the cocheman of whom you write; for that he is discouered to haue ben a caryer of lettres, and otherwyes vnsound, yt is orderid that annother shalbe sent downe from hence to supplye his place. For the fynding of her cochehorses, yt is thought meet the Mr of her howshold should be mouid to take order therein. And yt is agreed, that a lettre shalbe out of hande sent downe to the said queene from her m^ty^, to acquaint her with the remove, and the cause thereof. It is well allowid, that youe should require th'assistaunce of the sherife, and the gentlemen by youe mencionid for the removing of her. And her m^ty^ meaneth to appoint a gentleman porter to haue the chardge of the souldiors, and to looke to the watches, for which purpos capten Shute is namid.

Monsr Nau commeth this day to London, where her m^ty^ hath thought meete he should be lodgid at your house; but his dyets and enterteynement to be defrayed at her chardges. And so I commit you to God. At Hampton corte, the xv^th^ day of November, 1584.

Your assured frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Your opinion for the dischardging of th' earles people at the tyme of the remoue, is well allowed of.

And yt is thought meete you should send for so many weapon and

shott of the L. Pagets mencionid by youe, as you shall haue occasion to vse.

No. LVI.

The Same to the Same.

Sir,

Your lettres of the xvth of this present I haue receauid, by the which I am sorye to vnderstande that Mr Cave was not yet come to you at the tyme of the writing therof, doubting for that he caryed th'inventory of the L. Pagets howshold furniture with him, that Tutbury howse cannot be made ready tymelye enough to perfourme the remoue the xxiii^{d} of this moneth, as yt was appointed. And therfore the earle being, as yt seemeth, unwilling to beare the chardges of a longer prouision, yt shall do well that youe appoint Mr Sommer to conferre with his L. officers for a newe supply, to be had at her majesties chardges, by some reasonnable encrease of thallowaunce of thirtye pounds the weeke, which the earle now hathe.

I will not fayle to hasten what I maye, the dispatche of the L. St John, wherby you may be the sooner easid of that chardge, not doubting but youe shall haue him there with you by thend of this moneth, or within fower or fyve dayes after, at the farthest. His trayne, as I tould you before, will not exceede the number of forty persons, comprehending thos that shall attend vpon thother personages assotiatid with his L., which wilbe but half a score; for yt is thought meete that my L. shall leavye the fortye souldiors in his owne cuntrye, among his tennants and frends; who, by suche meanes, being the more at his commaundement and devocion, he shall therfore neede the lesse number of howshold servaunts. And for the manner of the allowaunce to be geuen to the said souldiors, I am still of opinion, that yt will ease the howse of muche trouble and pestering, yf they be rather allowed

their whole wages, then any part therof in meate and drincke, wherein there may be some way deuised to have their turne served ether by a vittaller, otherwyes so as they maye not scatter themselues to farr to seeke the same.

Tomorrowe I meane to send youe two lettres of her majesties; thone directed to the Scotishe queene, to acquainte her with thintended remove, and the cause of the dischardging of my L. of Shrewsburye, and annother to yourself, to authorise you to make the said remove; which lettres I would haue dispatched this daye, had not the vsuall solemnity hinderid the same. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xvii of November, 1584.

Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LVII.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Her majesty being made acquainted with the contents of your lettres of the xv[th] of this present, and fynding by the same that the queene, your chardge, is yet in verie weake state of bodye, by reason of hir aches and indisposicion of healthe, hath therfore deferred the signing of the two lettres to her and to yourself, mencioned in my former, (which, notwithstanding, she promisethe to dispatche this night or tomorrowe,) being verie lothe the said queene should be vsed with so little regarde as to be removid yet to Tutbury in this case she is, vnles she herself shall so be content, and lyke well therof. And therfore I fynd her majestie disposid to referre the tyme of the removing of her to your owne discrecioun, with the consent and good lyking of the said queen, while she shall continew thus indisposid of her healthe. As her majestie doth also looke you should have a spetyall care, that

by this change of the manner of her chardges in keeping the said queene, th'increase and burthen of the said chardges be no greater then the necessity of her seruice shall requier. The L. St John is come to the corte, but hath not yet had accesse to her majestie. There shalbe care had of the dispatching of him as soone as convenyently maye be.

Monsieur Nau had his first audience yesterday of her majestie, who seemith to rest verye well satisfyed with the conference she had with him, which moveth her to haue the greater care of the queene his mistress. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xix of November, 1584. Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

No. LVIII.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

My L. of Shrewsbury hath nowe sent me word that his prouisions at Wingfelde will stretche to the last of the moneth; during which tyme her majestie shall not therefore neede to be at any extraordinarye chardges that waye. And afterwards, yf that the queene be to be continued longer there, order may be taken with my lords officers for a further prouision, in that sorte that I haue before written vnto you.

The two lettres her majestie dothe yet deferre to signe.

Herewith I send you my L. of Shrewsburyes lettre to his servaunt Stringer, for the furnishing of the plate that is desyred. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xxth of November, 1584. Your assurid frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Nau desyerethe that the Q. may not be made acquaynted with the resolutyon for her remoue, vntyll his retorne; for that otherwyse he

dowbtethe yt wyll bread sooche iealousye in her, as may woorke somme chaynge in that good resolucyon he hathe taken, to be altogether (as he protestethe) at her majesties devocyion.

No. LIX.

Mynute of a Lettre [from Sir Ralph Sadler*] to Mr Secretary, of the xxvi of November*, 1584.

Sir,

Vnderstanding by a lettre from my son, Henry Sadler, how frendely you deale for me to relieve me of this charge, I do acknowledge meself most bounde to you for the same, and shall lacke no good will to requite your curtesie therein, if it may ever lye in my power. Also vnderstonding by his said lettre, that if you coulde bring it to passe, my L. St John shoulde com hither to Wyngfelde and convey this queene from hens to Tutbury, I have thought to signefie my poure mynde vnto you in that behalf, which is, that I thinke it wolde be moche more commodious for him, and not incommodious for me, that he shoulde either fynde her at Tutburie at his coming thither, or elles be redy to receyue her there when he shall com thither, both for that his iourney shalbe the shorter by xiiii or xv myles, very foule wayes; and I also shalbe so moch the nerer home. And besides that, which is the worst if he do com hither, he shall fynde here neyther meate, drynke, nor good lodging for himself, ne yet any at all for his folkes, nor mete, ne yet rowme for his horses, our provisions here being almost spent, and will indede be at an ende within thes viii dayes, if they last so long, having no good meanes to renew or supplie the same, specyally for bere and wyne, as I haue already aduertesed you. Here is no place of any good receipte for my L. St John and his folks; this house, and the village here, which is litle and poure, being full with my L. of Shrewesburyes men and myne, and at this present neither horse mete nor mannes mete to be had in the same; so that I am fayne to sende about

all the countrey to make provision for my horses, which I pay well for. Wherfore I thinke it best that my L. St John do com dyrectly to Tutburie, wher the house wilbe redy out of hande; bere and wyne, woodde and cole, already laid in, and Mr Cave there redy to make all other provision vpon a very short warnyng, the countrey there being farre better, and a grete dele more able to furnish al maner of provision then this is. And also, I fynde this quene here being in good helth of bodie, though her fote be so as she can not well set it to the grounde. I will not say it is the gowte, yet, without any gret payne, very willing to remoue whensoeuer she shall vnderstonde the Q. majesties pleasure therein, by her majesties owne lettres. Mary she semeth to be somwhat desirous to stay, eyther vntill Nau shalbe retorned hither to her, or at the least, vntill she shall here from him. But I doubt not to remove her with her good lyking and contentacion, whensoeuer it shall please the Q. majestie to appoynte the tyme, which must nedes be within this viii or x dayes at the furthest, for longer I see not how we can abyde here; and onles it be meant that she shall remayn still in the custodye of the erle of Shrewsburye, I see no cause whie she shoulde tary there any longer, but the soner she be removed from hens the better, in my poure opynyon. There is no cause of stay for respect of her helth or indisposicion of her bodie, onely her fote is a little sore, which may be layed on a pillow in her coche, without her disease, as she herself fyndeth no lacke in the same, but is indede very willing to remoue whensoeuer yt shall please the Q. majestie to aduertise her thereof.

No. LX.

Sir Francis Walsyngham *to Sir* Ralph Sadler.

Sir,

My lord St John doth now attend here for his dispatche; but by

reason as well of the parliament, as of the present negotyations with Nau and the Scotish ambassador, and of other weightye causes that are in hand, I thinke her majestie shall have no tyme to resolue therein vntill the next weeke. In the meane while, Nau desyreth that his mistress maie not be remouid vntill his returne, and her majestie is willing to assent thervnto; wherof I haue thought good to gene you knowledge, to thend youe maie take order for some prouisions to be made for ten or twelue daies longer, at her majesties chardges; for th' easing wherof, notwithstanding, you shall do well to consider howe some of th' earles people, wherof there is no necessarye vse, may be dischargid.

Th' estimate of th' increase of chardges sent by youe, that her majestie shall nowe be at about the rate allowid to my L. of Shrewsburye, I thinke will greatlye hasten the treatie.

Till yesterdaye, Monsieur Naus negotyation was pryvat with her majesties self, the purpos wherof I thinke did cheefely concerne my lady of Shrewsburye, and thos causes. Yesterdaye he had conference with some of my lords of the counsell, to whom he made three requests: The first, that the treatye might go forward with his mistress; the second, that she maye not be remouid till the finishing of the said treaty, or, at the least, till his returne; and the third, that my lady of Shrewsbury, and her two sonnes, might oppenly confesse thvntruthe of thos imputations that haue ben layd to his said mistress, which towche her lyfe and honnor, before the French ambassador himself, and some of the counsell. And thus, with my harty commendacions, I leaue you to God. At St James, the xxvith of November, 1584.

Your assurid frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

No. LXI.

The Same to the Same.

Sir,

Presently vppon the receipt of your last lettres, I procurid my L. of Shrewsbury to be dealt withall for a new supply of prouisions to be made, which he hath agreed vnto shalbe for a fortinnight more, at her majesties chardges, as every thing shall cost, and no longer. And therfore I praye youe to set downe an estimat of theis newe chardges, after the number of my L. men shalbe diminished, by so many as are vnnecessary attendaunts, for that his L. dothe fynd the rate, as yt may now growe at one hundreth pounds the weeke, which would perhappes ouerhasten the remove.

The two lettres hir majesty hathe not yet signid, but promiseth to dispatche them this day, and to referre the tyme of remove to your discrecion, according to your owne request. Monsieur Naus dispatche hence shall nowe be hastenid with all convenyent speede. And so I commit you to God. At St James, the xxviiith of November, 1584.

Your assurid frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

No. LXII.

The Same to the Same.

Sir,

By hir majesties own act, that will come to you in this dispatch, you shall perceaue that there is full power given you for the removing of the queen, your charge, which, if she shall seake to delay by collor of anie pretended sicknes, she shall not shew hirself well aduised; for that I know the same will be taken in ill part of hir majesty, as one

the other side hir H. seameth disposed, if the said queen shall conforme hirselfe to such coorse as she shall take with hir, to extend more fauour towardes hir than heretofore she hath found.

This day hir majestie hath also deliuered hir resolution to the L. St John, for his repaire to Tutbury to receaue the charge at your handes, whom I will hasten downwardes as much as I shalbe able, to thend that you may be the sooner returned to eat your Christmes pye in season. And so leaue further to trouble you for this tyme. From the court at St James, the iii[d] of December, 1584. Your assured loving frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

Sir,—I hope her majesties owne letter wyll remove the dowbt you have of late conceyued towching your longer abode here, then I have heretofore acquaynted you withall.

No. LXIII.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

Nowe her majestie hathe declared her resolve pleasour vnto the L. St John, I doe what I can to hasten him, who is forced to proceade the more slowely, for that her majestie woold have him carrye himselfe in a kynde of secreacye in his preparatyon; a thing vnpossible to be don, and sverly altogether vnnecessarye, were yt not her majesties pleasure to have yt so. Naue gevethe owt, that his Mrs is growen to a great myslyke with Tudberrye, which shewethe she hathe no wyll to remove thence where she now is, having there fourmid fitt persons to serve her torne, which the chaynge of place and keper wyll bereave her of; and therfor I dowbt greatly you shall hardely drawe her to remove before Nau's retorne, which I wyll hasten as moche as I may.

Owre parlament hathe not yit browght forthe any matter woorthy of your knowledge; we begyn to conceyve somme good hope of the Mr of Grayes negotyatyon, whoe proceadethe more playnly and syncearly then we looked for. The assotiatyon between that Q. and her sonne, so constantly avowed bothe by her and her mynister here, is nowe dyscovyred not to be so forward as was geven owte to serve her torne.

Ther is a great spyte growen betwen the Mr of Graye and Nau. The cavse therof hathe growen thorrowghe certeyne ill offices don against the seyd Mr of Gray, by one Le Fownteyne, brother to Nau, sent into Scotlande by that queen. Ther hathe ben great travayle and conning vsed, to hyde this dysagreement betwen the seyd partyes, but yt woold not be. I suppose that Nau dothe greatly complayne of the Mr of Graye vnto his Mrs in the letters which I now sende. And so in hast, I commyt you to the protectyion of the Almyghtye. At the coorte, the vth of Decemb. 1584.

Your assvred frend,

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

You may discharge Fvrnes vppon his owne bande, having no further matter to charge him withall.

I wyll take order to send downe the matters you desyre, together with the plate.

No. LXIV.

Sir RALPH SADLER *to the Queen's Majesty.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOUERAIGNE,

Your lettres vouchesafed vpon so poure a man as I am, being one of the pourest subjects of that degree which I am called vnto, and specyally thos few wordes of your highnes owne hande, conteyning this precept, "Vse old trust, and new diligence;" togither with your most

gracious promise shortly to relieve me of this charge, have not a litle comforted me, which precept I will not faile faithfully to performe towards your majestie whilles I have breth; the former part thereof I will performe both with bodie and mynde, and the later parte also I will wante no good mynde and will to performe, wishing that myn old bodie were as able to indure such payne, and to vse such diligence as I haue a good mynd and will therevnto. But I assure your majestie, on my fydelyte to your H., that I do fynde meself most vnhable to indure this life which I leade in this seruice, trusting that therfore your majestie will the soner release me of the same, according to your most gracious promise; so that now, in myn olde dayes, for the short tyme I have to lyve in this world, I may serve God and your majestie at myn owne home, with such rest and quyetnas as myn olde yeres do require; which I do most humblie crave at your majesties hands for Goddes sake, to whom I will incessauntly pray for your majestie, according to my most bounden duetie. And now, to say somwhat touching this Q., I fynd her moch altered from that she was when I was first acquaynted with her. This restraynt of libertee, with the greefe of mynde which she hath had by the same, I thinke hath wrought some good effect in her. And if she do not gretly dissemble, trewly she is moche devoted and affected to your majestie, most desirous of your gracious fauor, and good amyte, afore all the princes of this worlde, which she will seke and deserue with all the good offices she can or may do to please your majestie. Thus she sayeth and protesteth afore God; and as it is the part of an honest man to judge the best of all princes, so do I thinke that she hath an intencion and meaning to perfourme that she sayeth, which vpon profe and tryall tyme will discouer and make manyfest. Not doubting but your majestie will so procede and deale with her as, if she meane not so syncerely as she protesteth, the lacke thereof may retorne and fall vpon herself, without any grete aduantage to be left vnto her agenst your majestie, which I leave to the consideracioun of your majestie, and of your grave counsailers, which, I doubt not, will sounde the matter to the bottome, ac-

cording to the weight and importaunce of the same. And, touching the alteracion of her custodie from therle of Shrewsburie, though I fynde her not to myslyke the same, yet is she very vnwilling to remove vntill suche tyme as she may receyve som answer from your majestie by her secretarie, Nau, to such speciall poyntes as she sayeth she gave him in charge to move vnto your highnes on her behalf, touching this alteracion; wherein she desired to be satisfied, either by the retorne of her saide secretarie, or by his lettres, or otherwise, as shall please your majestie to let her receyve for satisfaction, touching the saide poynts from her said secretarie; we shall then, with the more facilitie, procede to her removing to Tutberie, the house there being almost in good arredynes to receyve her, in sort as I trust shalbe with her good lyking and contentacion. And so, &c. Wingfeld, 7 Dec. 1584.

No. LXV.

To Mr Secretarie, 7 Decembris, 1584.

Sir,

By the queens majesties lettres to the Scotishe queene, and to me of the thurd of this moneth, which, with yours, wer brought to me the vth, I see that her H. hath gyven me commission to remoue the said queene to Tutbury, when, by my discretion, I shall think it fitte and convenyent, with respect to the state of her body. After she had read her majesties lettres, and delyuerid her good acceptation of them, and of the words writen with her awne hand, she marveylid muche that she heard nothing from Nau by that dispatche. And that, as she wolde be ready to obey her majestie, her good suster, and had deliuerid good testimony of her duety to her, so seeing she had her man there, she looked to haue ben also aduertised by him of her H. pleasure, as well in that as in other speciall points of his charge. Having gyven

him in commandement to vse all meanes and dilligence to procure her majesties answers thervnto; and therwith to returne to her, which she looked to vnderstand and to see him as she was promised, before her remoue hence. And that done, how paynfull so ever it wolde be to her, she wolde furthwith willingly remoue hence. Hervnto I sayd, that tooching her remoue, she cowld have no certayner knowledge then by her majesties own lettres; and that there was none intention to remoue her without her awne consent, wherin her majesties favorable and princely consyderacion of the state of her body shulde be regardid. And as for other maters, she might haue answer to them by Naus returne to Tutbury, as well as hither; and yet I thought she shulde haue Nau heere shortlye. Therto she answerid, that her man had gyven her aduertisment of this her majesties intention to write to her toching her remoue, which she takith very thankfully, but yet looked to be more fully satisfyed in other points of the remoue, as the place, the parson, being not namid in her H. lettres, and his abilitee to answer for her. Wherin she hath gyven her man specyall instruction to beseech her majesties good consyderacion, and seemid to be much offendid that he hath not written to her by this your last dispatche, delyvering furth woordes of mistrust, that his lettres haue not had good passage, as she fownde by their dates. All these dowbts and mistrusts were answerid, to satisfy her in reason, as they had ben before at other tymes. But yet she seemid not so well satisfied as of late she hath ben, which proceedid in effect for that she heard not at this tyme from her man Nau, which I sayde she might haue ben sure to haue done, if you had had his lettres when that dispatche was made.

Vpon my L. of Shrewsburys order to his officers heere to make provision for a fortnight, which will end with Monday, or Tewsday the xv of this moneth, Mr Stringer hath taken order therein aecordingly, and for no longer. Therfore, in case M. Nau returne not before that day, or that this Q. be not then in case to be removed, as yet surely she is not, by meanes of her foote and syde, wherin she sayth she feelith but little amendid, I shall be fayne to send for Mr Cave to come

hither to make provysion at the Q. majesties costes, which wilbe a harde mater to do, seing how the contrey lyeth, no good towne neere by viii miles, to serue beef, mutton, &c., nor no pasture to keep them, if any shulde be boght; also my L. hereabout being spent by horses and bullocks, with this long lyeng here. Cole being the chief feuell, wherof is spent xvi or xvii loads wekly, wilbe a matter exceeding trublesom to the contrey, broght 3 myles by wayne; which, if the ryver be vp, as vpon any great rayne it is, their bullocks, having none other, do swyme through, to the great grudging of the people, besydes the exceeding foule and deepe way.

No. LXVI.

To the Same.

Sir,

This Tewsday morning I receavid your lettres of the vth of this monethe. And forasmuche as you make mention therein of Naus lettre to the Q., his Mrs, which I founde not, I haue thought good to make this light dispatche vnto you, that if the same lettres be not yet come from you, they may be sent with all speede. For she compting this the xii day syns the date of any of his comme to her, I haue muche adoo to keepe her in tune of patyence, not without greatly taxing him; which is the sooner moved in this tyme of her doulor, not yet able to strayn her left foote to the grownde, and to her very great gref, not without teares, fyndeth that being wasted and shrunk of naturall measure, and shorter then his fellow, fearing that it will hardly returne to his naturall without the benefite of a naturall hot bathe. I thinke you gesse partly aright (as I have ben a good whyle of that mynde) of the cause of her mislyk to go to Tutbury; for in deede I mynde, (as I have writen and is allowed of,) that all olde acquaintance shall tary beside; and yet she saythe still, that vpon her mans returne,

or satisfaction in wryting from him of the Q. majesties pleasure in that behalf, and of the personage to whom she shalbe committed, she will remoue without further delay. Therfor, I humbly beseeche her majestie to satisfye this lady, and that the L. St John may followe him at his heeles, whom I do very muche long to see, or to heere of his dispatche from you, that I may by myself gyve you thanks for the care I fynde and beleeve you have of me.

The proceeding of the Mr of Gray more playnely and sincerely for his Mr, may moue her majestie to thinke the better of his master's meaning towards her, without the mothers intervening, whom, I haue found, was of the matter somwhat jelouse, from the first coming of Gray to the cort without her knowledge, or meanes made to see her, though she did not so playnly discouer herself. And if this pyke contynew betuene these mynisters, and streatch furth to their Mrs, the Q. shall perhaps fynde it good to be a medyator, and get honor and commoditie, and make them both beholding to her.

I vnderstand that all is ready at Tutbury, saving this Q. to go thither. You see what will hasten her, without excuse.

The plate, napery, and maters, I perceaue shalbe sent downe thither with speede. But now that we are within vii dayes of the ende of the fortnight, which, by my L. of Shrewsburys express commandment, must not be muche exceeded in this place, as I haue at other tymes past vpon the lyke dowbt moved, so haue I thought good now agayne to say and desyre to be considderd: That in case of necessite, either by lack of Naus returne by that tyme, which is ever alledged as a stop, or by reason of this queens carefull excuse by her indisposition of body, she cannot be removed hence; and that my L. officers will not in maner of purveyors, vitell for the company which is then to be founde, at the Q. charges, to be payd for as they cost in ready money, which I fynde they ar vnwylling to do, so long as she shall remayn in my L. house; (I must needs testifiye well of Mr Stringer as truely he deservythe, who hath respect to the Q. majesties fauor, and to his masters honor, but must conteyn himself within the lymits of an honest offi-

cer,) in that I cannot see but my L. must be dealt withall both for his houseroome, vse of his stuff, and, if it be possible, for some longer contynuance of provysion, so long as, vpon such necessite, this Q. shall be dryven to abyde in this place, or vntill certeyn dayes after Naues returne, without suche lymitacion of precise tyme as hath ben heretofore; which hath ben very troublesom to this contrey, specially for being thin of feuell, as I wrote last to you. My L. officers do desyre very earnestly that his L. may be moved herein; as, vpon an ernest conference with them, they haue this day sent away a man of my lords to vnderstande his plesure therein, if any suche thing be mouid to him from her majestie. And so, &c. From Wingfeld, 8 Decembre, 1584.

No. LXVII.

To the Queenes Majestie.

Yt may please your majestie. After that the Scottishe Q. had read her lettres, come from Nau the viii of this moneth, and prayed me to come to her in the evening, she delyvered her very good lyking of his vsage there, both by your majestie and by your highness counsell, with whom, she said, he was entrid into talke of some points of a treaty; and that he desyred her speedy answer to certeyn things propownded vnto him, whervnto, though he had answerid somwhat according to his instructions, yet desyrid to be further instructid and cleerid by her, which she sendith now vnto him herwith.

Then she entrid into a discourse of the Mr of Grayes doings, so farre as she cowlde get knowlege of them from Nau; and fyndithe, that whereas by her meanes, he was sent this voyage to your majestie, vpon his earnest promesses by his lettres, to treat and deale for her if she wolde procure her son to imploye him, and to seek to speake first with her in his voyage; he now takith another course, and semithe to deale for her son without her. And that this hath ben contryved

emong some evell ministers about her son, whome she fyndith to be evell led, and his good nature abused by them, and do make this yong man their instrument, who hath gotten good credet with him, vnder his former dissembling with her; bewayling with many teares this evell caryeng of her son, of whose welldoing, she sayth she is more carefull then of hir self. And to thende this disguising of the Mr of Grayes, and her honest dealing with your majestie, as he hath vowed, may somwhat appere, she sendith now to Nau a lettre which the said Mr of Gray hath writen vnto her, and came now in th' ambassadors packet, though writen before Naues comming to your majestie, subscribed in ciffer, and endorsed onely by is Nota, to be by Nau imparted to your majestie; beseching that it may be kept secret, least it binder the comming of an other more ample, which she promiseth very shortly in a more secret sort, because his playn hande is well knowne, which she will also impart to your majestie. She sayth that this yong gent. is a creature of the B. of Glascoes, and hath ben broght vp in the schooles of the Jesuites, who seeke to serve their turne by him about her son; but protestith very earnestly, that if it wolde lyke your majestie to trust her, and gyve her leave to sende shortly into Scotlande, she wolde make appeere what she coude do with her son, whom she saythe she hath fast bownde to her devotion by his awne wryting, as Nau shall shew your majestie, whatsoeuer Gray say to the contrary, and that he hath oft desyrid hir counsell, which he hath fownde the best of all others; and that, if he refuse to be ordred by her, she wolde soone bring him in case to make him seeke your majestie, for his meanes besydes hers, and her frendes, are small, and otherwise is so poore, (and the worse by those needy folks about him) as he hath oft sent to her for money to by himself clothes and apparell for his pages and lackeys, which she hath caused to be furnished of hers out of France, when she might euell spare it. And that the 6000 crownes which he gat lately from the duke of Guise, wherof she thinkith this yong gent. hath had the more part himself, to set himself furth in so good shew, seemith to giue a good countenance to the matter. And

that she may the better work this with her son, she wishith, that by some coulor, he may be enterteyned in Englande, and not dispatched home vntill she may haue first sent into Scotlande. She sayth still, that when she hath brought her son to a good point with her majestie, and setlid some wise men about him, which he cannot do himself now, she will not trouble him in his government in Scotlande, though most of her enemyes there be dead, but will not faile to keep him from meanes to trouble your majestie.

She delyverith these vowes and protestations of her sincere intention towards yovr majestie, with as great earnestnes as is possible to be vtterd by words.

God graunt the discouery of the evell where it is suttelly meant, and that the best way may be taken now whilest things are in some shew of towardness, to his glory, and benefite and quyet of your realme, and of your majestie, our gratiouse soverayne.

No. LXVIII.

To Mr Secretarie.

Sir,

The 8th of this moneth I receavid your packet, and therin iii to this queen from the French ambassador, and 2 from Nau. After she had seen her lettres, and preyd me to com to her that evening, she delyuered by good speeches her very good lyking of her secretaries there, both by the Q. majestie, and by her counsell, and namely, by yourself, of whome he had gyven speciall testimony to her good contentment. And there healde other purposes to me toching certeyn points propownded vnto him by my lords, whervnto he desyred her speedy answer, which she sendith now, and prayeth thefore speedy delyuery of her lettres; and other words of her mislyke of the Mr of Grayes dealing with her highnes in the name of her son onely, omitt-

ing her, contrary to her sons promes made to her, wherin she sayeth he is evell counselled, and led by some persons particular to themselfs, and also contrary to his awne assurance gyven her when this voyage was first entendid, and by herself moyeind for him, as I haue at more lengthe deliuered to her majestie, wherwith you shall be acquainted, and therfore the rehearsall heerin shulde be superfluous.

I trust you do remember how the tyme of the fortnight wearith away, and the hard meanes to contynue heere much longer, without yet a further contynuance of my L. good meanes, as by myne of the sixt I wrote to you. And also that this Q. stayth vpon Naues returne, which, if ye contynue, your treaty cannot be so soone as was thought; therefore, in case of lykelihoode of his stay there any tyme, if it wolde please her majestie to resolve with Nau of the personage who is to take the charge of her, and that therof, and of her H. pleasure for her remoue, he do aduertise her, wherof she lookith to be certifyed from him. I think she wilbe then the willinger to remoue, though her foote remaynith still at a stay, and not lyke to be well vntill it be comforted by warmer weather, or by better meanes of hearbes and drogues to make fomentations, then can be had heere among the monteynes, where gardens are skant knowne. I vnderstande from Tutbury, that there lack dyuers bedds, and many hangings, that wer the lord Pagets; and that by answer from the late Mr Shirif, they ar in such hands as they will not well be gotten out of them, which I referre to your good consydderacion. For without the whole complement, or very neere, of these beds, I cannot see how this company con be furnished, as it is meet for xlviij of this queenes people, of whome, besydes herself, v. have severall beds, and xlv others at the least, vnlese the want be supplyed at her majesties charges, which will not be so readyly had; besydes, that x or xii of those beds that ar brought yn thether, ar very meane, as I haue writen, and some lack bolsters, supposed to haue ben changed. And thus, &c. Wingfeld, 9 X^br^, 1584.

No. LXIX.

Sir Francis Walsyngham, *to Sir* Ralph Sadler.

Sir,

The last dispatch that came from the Q., your charge hath bread some stay of Naus return, whereof I fear will follow a stay of your remoue. I fynd the E. of Shrewsbury noway mynded to furnish any further proportion of provision. The enclosed I am desired to convey with speed vnto you. Hir majestie doth accept very well of your late lettres, the contents whereof doe serue to very good purpose, which hir majestie will vse with the secrecy that is desired. And so in hast I leaue you. From the court at St James, the xiith of December, 1584.

Your assured loving frend,

Fra. Walsyngham.

No. LXX.

To Mr Secretarie.

Sir,

This servith only to send away this queenes answer to Naws last lettres, which she received from him the xijth of this present. These being wryten with her awne hande, and one to her majestie, as she saythe, hath ben the longer in doing.

And yet, by this commodite in answer to yours which I receavid then, I haue thought to saye, as I have oft writen before, that we ar lyke to be dryven to a great strayt of provision here; for though you wryte, that after the last accordyd fortnight, which endid this day, Mr Cave shulde then comme hither and make a new supply heere at her

majesties charges, for x dayes, (Nau being not yet ready to returne) when I consider still the seate of this wylde contrey, whereof I haue wryten before vnto you, namely, by myne of the vijth, not able to yelde by the vulgar meanes, and not otherwise, without longer forecast, and plots frendly layd from afarre; for almost all the contrey herabouts ys in the hands of noblemen and other parsons of great qualitie, in parkes and other demeanes; and that my L. of Shrewsbury, the greatest of them all, hath had his meanes of prouisions from Sheffeld, Rotheram, Worsop, Rufford, some from Chatworth, and other his manors, besides good hedges for bullocks and sheepe, brought from afarre, and kept ready here, whilst the pastures wolde serue, which ar now spent by so long stay; and that now without his L. commandement, there must no more be brought hither of his store, muche lesse to be solde here to him that shulde mak the provysion at the Q. charges; and that his L. hath gyven no direction for any longer tyme, nor that Mr Cave is able to do that seruice heere so soone this tyme of the yere, who sayth also that this money is well neere spent in provisions made at Tutburye. I fynde that we ar vnlyke to be smoothe heere, without any provision, wer it not that vpon my very earnest entreaty Mr Strynger, fynding also this our harde state, doth of himself adventure for all this weeke, with greate toyle to the contrey, and incommodite for my lord in his needfull provysion for himself, the wayes being very sore, as in deede they ar, with protestation that it can be for no longer, if so long, for then they all go to Sheffelde. And therefore I haue fully resolued to sende away parte of our stuffe this weeke, and to leaue this house bare, sauing this Q. awne lodging, and to persuade her, as moche as I may, in the tearmes wherein we stande, to departe hence vpon Monday the xxjst of this moneth. Vpon which day I have prayed the gent. heerabout to be heere with me, to attend with her to Darby, vjjj myles, for further can she not be caryd that day, the wayes being so exceeding evell; and vpon Teusday to Tutbury, vii myles, not so foule as the other. But happening that she, eyther relying vpon her majesties order and promes not to haue her remoued vntill Naues returne, or that

her estate of her body, specially her legg and foote, will not, or cannot, be removed without more strayne to her than is her majesties will, wherin I wolde not offende. I see that then we are lyke to be in a great strayt, though my lords men ease this company somwhat by their departure to Sheffeld, and yet will there remayne here vpon the point of xl persons. And in that case is also to be considered, what we shall do for some plate for myself, vessell for the kychin, napry, and other needfull things, which we have now of my lords. And besyds all this, and the lak of drink, we ar lyke to set acolde, for the weather and wayes ar suche as no fewell can almost be brought hither, and reylie it is to the poore people and their teames, haryed as they ar. And as for olde wood, whereof there is store standing, and none other, that is but sory geare to be vsed in chambre, in kychin. I see, to healpe all, or a good part of this, no readyer meanes to leaue heere, then to send Nau away, or that he wryte to his Mrs the Q. majesties pleasure for her remoue, which answer to some speciall point she expectith from her majestie by or from him. If it haue pleasid the Q. majestie to deale with my L. of Shrewsbury for the continuance of his prouision, so long as this Q. must needfully remayne heare, or vntill certeyn dayes after Naues returne, as I haue writen by myne of the viiith, and not for a day prefixed, I doubt not but his L. will yelde to hit; wherof I shall then heere shortly. I beseeche you, sir, healpe this mater, as much as the short tyme will gyve leave. I will wery you with one other vnpleasant thing, and not the lest important to me: in this contrey, which yeldeth very litle corne, I fynde none other litter for my horses than ferne, which being spent as fast as they can be cut, ys brought yn moyst, which hath almost marrid all my horses and geldings, none of them being free from the cough. They shulde not be so out of this place. Wingfeld, 14 Dec. 1584.

1

No. LXXI.

To Mr Secretarie.

Sir,

You shall receive herewith such lettres as this Q. hath wrytten to her secretarie Nau. But her frowardnes to remoue from hens is such as putteth vs here to our shiftes to make prouision in this place; therles store being spent, and his officers will not make any further prouision, neyther for loue nor money; having charge and commandement from therle, their Mr, to depart hens, with all his housholde, to Sheffelde, where they ar provided for; and so they ar now departing, and leave the hole charge of the provisions here vpon me, wherevpon I am forced to sende for Mr Cave to com hither from Tutbury, and to bring with him some parte of such provisions as he hathe made thereof, beffes, mottons, and other things, which must nedes be had to serve vs here, vntill she will conforme herself to remove to Tutbury, where she may be better vsed, and where she is better provyded for, then we can accomplishe here. The cause why she will not remove, she alledgeth to be the lamenes of her leg, and the greefe of her fote; but in dede the cause is, that she will not till Nau returne, nor then neyther, I thinke, and therefore she is lyke to fynde it in her dyet, and yet we well provyde as well as we can; but, do the best we can, we ar lyke to kepe a colde Christmas; for, as I vnderstande, Mr Cave hath almost spent all the money he brought downe with him, and without money no provision can be made here. For myne owne part, I assure you, I have scant so moche lefte as will bere my charges homewards. I kepe xl horses here, and have moche ado to gette meate for them, and yet pay derely for it. Therle was content a while to let me have som helpe therein of his store, but was sone wery of the charge; and therefore alledging that all his store was spent, gave me leave to provide at myne

owne charge both hay and straw, which, with suche other charges as I have ben, am, and shalbe at daylie in this seruice, I fynde more chargeable to me than I am able to bere, trusting in your good helpe to haue it allowed and repaied at my retorne, according to reason. Here be xl souldiors, which now that therles officers and housholde seruaunts do departe hens, wolde also be gon, or at the leest, the most parte of them, and I haue no warraunt to discharge them, ne yet can we kepe watche and warde here without them as we haue don; wherfore I pray you let me knowe her majesties pleasure therein, with all the speede that may be, vntil which tyme I will do what I can to stay them. Wingfeld, xv Decembris, 1584.

No. LXXII.

To Mr Secretarie.

Sir,

Though your lettre to me of the xxvth, which I receavid the xxviiith of this moneth, mentioning, emong other thinges, that Mr Nau was to depart from thence the next day, doth not require very speciall answer; yet, to keepe the posts in brethe, being payd working or playeng, I will not omit to let yow know how much I wishe to see him heere, and therby some better effect by his perswasion for his Mrs remoue hence, knowing the Q. majesties resolucion and assurance that she is quit out of the erle of Shrewsburys custody, then I can perswade her vnto yet. But I am right hartley sory to vnderstande now, of the doubt of my L. St Johns comming downe to take this charge, seeing he did so long agoe accept it, as I made full accompt vpon your aduertisements to me, and speeche to my son, to see him so, as I and this yere, now both almost at the last case, shulde together take our leaue of this lady. If her majestie had allowed of my lords excuse at the beginning, another might by this tyme haue ben in more forwardnes

then I see his L. is, vnlesse it wolde please her majestie to do as you wryte she will. For before another of qualite can be callid, ready from the corte, and from his awne domesticall causes, (remembring withall thexample of others former excuses) I leaue to her majestie to consider how many weekes, yea monethes, will passe over. But yet I do so muche relye my self vpon the assurance which her H. gaue me before and synce my comming hither at seuerall tymes, as nothing shall deter me from my opinion of her gratious promesse, but that I shall very shortly see theffect therof.

As toching her majesties pleasure, that I shulde have a speciall care of conversacion and dealing betweene this Q. seruaunts and myne, I will see to it, God willing, so much as I can; and haue that opinion and confydence in all myne, as I trust little warning will serue. But so long as these soldyors shall contynew heere, who, (or the more part) for their long contynewance together, ar as muche to be doubted that way as any of the other company that is departid, I cannot see how the suspition and meanes of passages betweene these folk can so well be removid, as by our remoue hence, when I meane to leaue all these soldyors behynde, if it shall so stande with her majesties good allowance. In which point, as also how I shall levy other soldyors at my coming to Tutbury, of her majesties tennants and others thereabout, according to my former lettres, and how many, vntill other may be brought by my L., as hath ben heertofore aduised, I desyre answer, and her majesties warrant, or knowledge of her H. pleasure. Some other Englishmen ar heere in this Q. housholde, as seruants to her principal officers; as one with Nau, one with the physicien, one with Melvill, but he commith to our seruice, one with the Q. in her wardrobe, a taylor, admittid as I heare by the earle. These may be temporised withall, vntill our comming to Tutbury, and then some other course may be taken with them and with her cocheman, (if any other be sent) vnles her majestie will tollerat them. 29 Dec. 1584.

No. LXXIII.

To Mr Secretarie from Mr Sommer.

Right Honorable,

Mr Chancelor looked for better comforte of my L. St Johns redynes to redeeme vs then he toke by your last to him, but yet trustithe that your next will revyve him, wherof surely he hath nede, as I fynde sensibly in him syns his coming hither. By his lettre he hath now answered you, toching his care to looke to his folk, over whome I knowe he hath dyvers eyes of his trustyest. For my part, I will (as my duety byndith me) be as heedfull as lythe in me. And wer all these olde acquainted soldyers discharged, which cannot well be done so long as this Q. is heere, all passages to and from these people might, I think, be better obseruid, though hard to be perfourmid in all points, and at tymes where so many ar, and where the Q. people may walk in the corte at all tymes, and resort to the offices for ther necessaries, which was neuer forbidden them. And yet ar they all very carefully heedid, specially at the gates, not suffered to go furthe without the company of ii soldyors, nothing brought to the Q. or any of hers, but is openid and visited. Toching the orders for the custody of this charge, Mr Chancelor observith the same that wer vsed before by my L. of Shrewsbury, with some additions at his first comming to this place, which he sent vnto you about the begynninge of September. This one thing is now addid, that, in consideracion of these very colde and long nights, of xiii or xiv howres, the soldyers watches coming about ones a weeke, was thought very muche, is helpen to be but ones in x nights, by vsing the service of v contrey able men euery night, of the tounes herabout, with so many of these soldyers; wherof iii ar a standing watche vnder the wyndowes of the Q. lodgings, and thrie go about, and iiii ar within the corte and in a garden; besyds ii yeomen that watche nightly in

the great chambre, which watche at the one ende to the vttermost lodging, where her gromes lye, wherin is a doore and bolts.

No. LXXIV.

Lord Treasurer Burleigh *to Sir* Ralph Sadler.

After my most harty commendations. I am ashamed that this long tyme past I have not wrytten to you; but truly I was more greved that I cold not wryte that which I myself desyred, and that should have bene most comfortable to you. And though yet to this tyme the difficulte remayneth to releve you, wherof I am most sorry, yet truly ther hath bene no wante in your frends, to my vnderstandyng, to sollicite your releff, nor yet that I could perceave any contrary disposition in hir majestie to have you releved. And then it war reason to lett yow understand what is the lett as I tak it, which now I hope is almost spent and at an end. Her majesty, as yow have bene informed, intended long afor Christmas that my L. St Jhon of Bleshoo should tak that chardge, and so I was perswaded that he shuld have bene ther also afor Christmas. But now, vppon Mr Secretaryes absence, his majestie conferryng with me vppon Bryan Caves coming hyther with a report of his accompt, I told hir majestie that it was mete my L. St Jhons war hastened away, which she so lyked, as she willed me to send for hym, and so I did, and moved hym to appoynt his jornaye; but he, lyk a stranger almost to the matter, answered me directly, that he cold not, nor wold go to vndo himself, and so he sayd he had answered Mr Secretary long tyme past. I found this answer very strange, and advised him to tak hede herto, for I knew that hir majestie made full accompt that he shuld goo, and that he might fall into no small displesur if hir majestie shuld vnderstood his answer. Well, many arguments passed betwixt hym and me. I was loth to report his answers, and so passed 3 or 4 dayes, in which tyme I sent to my L. of Bedford

to perswad hym better. I did the lyk with my L. of Lecester; they both cold not prevayle in the end. I told hym I must mak report to her majestie, and, for ought I cold do by any advise, he forced me so to do, although I did it not flatly, as he gave me cause. Hervppon hir majestie fell into great displesur against hym, affirming, that at hir first speking, he did only excuse himself by lack of sufficieney for such a chardge, but yet he yelded to it, and required respeat for 3 or 4 wekes. I then required hir majestie that my L. of Lecester and I might roundly command hym in hir name; so she was willyng. We did very rovndly, but it avayled not. He sayd he wold abyde any extremite rather than to go in some sort; he alledged discreditt that he shuld be accompanyed with another. In the end, after many debates, my L. of Lecester, and my L. Chamberlain, had chardg to tell that hir majestie wold mak an example of hym, by punishing hym for his wilfulnes, and though he wold assent to serve in the roome, he shold not. This tale we told hym this afternone, and then he yelded to obey hir majesty, as forced by hir commandement, but not with his good will. We reported this to hir majestie, and fynding hir so much offended, as she bad he shuld not goo; we advised her majestie otherwise; and so her majesty in the end, hearyng of my report that yow war siek, she semed gretly to pite yow; she sayd, that yow shuld not fayle to be releved as soone as yow cold remove hir to Tutbury.

Thus farr of this matter; which, though I have vttered in manny lynes, yet I assure yow the passadg hereof hath spent at sondry dayes long debates. But yet yow may say all this helpeth not yow, and I also must saye, I am as sorry for the lett as any frend yow have.

Hir majestie wold gladly have hir removid, and she wold have both nombres and charges deminished; and to that end, by hir majesties express commandment, I have informed Bryan Cave some manner how to do it. Wherof I have also gyven hym some notes in wryting, referryng the longer explanatyons therof to hym, as I have also many other thynges; and so thynking that yow shall be weary with readyng, as I am with wryting, the matter being no more comfortable to yow,

I end, wishing that my next wryting may be spedyly better. From Grenwych, the v of Janvar. 1584. Yours assured, as any of your own.

W. Burghley.

6 Janr. Postscript.—I have stayd Cave for to get monny for hym, as he can not yet come afor Friday, I feare.

No. LXXV.

To Mr Secretarie.

Sir,

The xxix[th] of the last moneth Mr Nau returnid hither. By this Q. speeches and countenance to me vpon Naus report of his negotiations with the Q. majestie, and his honorable entertaynment there with her H. privy counsell, being favorable heard in all his doings, she seemithe to be very well satisfied in all things, and promisith to deserue all the favor which it may please her majestie to bestow vpon her, when it shall please God to graunt her meanes to shew it heere, and in all other places wher, with her H. good lyking, she may be, and ende the rest of her yeres. She sendith now heerwith her answer (she sayth) to certeyn points which wer not cleerid at his comming thence, and other things depending vpon her negotyations with her majestie; whervnto I, having not ben made pryvy any way, can say nothing but pray to God that all may tend to his glory, and her majesties contentment, as her humble and dutyfull servants and subjects desyre. She consentid to remoue hence to Tutbury as vpon Monday next, the xi[th] of this monethe; but, by reason of the quarter session holden at Darby vpon that daye, where all the gentlemen of these partes wilbe, of whome I haue appointed some to attend vpon her to Tutbury, the remoue is put of vntill Wednisday the xiii[th]; and vpon Thursday following, I

make accompt, God willing, to be at Tutbury out of this vnplesant place, for this tyme of the yere, as myself and almost all this company hath felt, by taking cold and murres, notwithstanding any provision.

I vnderstande that the plate, lynen, and matters sent down, commithe to Tutbury as this night. Emong the which I fynde by the inventary, that there being but lx. payre of sheets, they will be occupyed almost all at ones; so as there must be necessarely as many more for a change, eyther to be provyded there with you, or heere of such clothe as this contrey doth yeld, which wilbe fownde good. Wherein I pray you answer by our next to me; as also her majesties commandment for the levyeng of soldyors to watche and warde at Tutbury, wherof I wrote to you by my last of the xxixth of Decembre. My desyre to be redeemid from this charge increassith daily vpon just cause. Therfore I humbly beseeche her Ma^{ty} to haue such considderacion of me, as I may shortly see the effect of myne assurance and stay vpon her majesties promes, so farre as with my duety I may beseeche it; for the state of my body doth now moue me to be earnest therein. The state of this Q. body is muche amendid, but is yet lame, not able to goo alone. I truste you will healpe Mr Cave to his dispatche downe agayne, for the store of money left by him heere is gon; and without money our ease will go hard, we lyeng heere altogether vpon the peny. And so, &c. Wingfeld, vi January, 1584.

No. LXXVI.

To our very lovinge frend the Sheriffe of the Countye of Derbye.

After our hartie comendacions. Whereas the Scottish Q. doth remaine at this present vnder the custody of Sir Ralph Sadler, knight, chauncellor of the Duchy; who, by order of her majestie, is to remoue her out of hande from Wingfeilde, where she now remaineth, unto the castle of Tutbury: and forasmuch as it may be that the said Sir Ralph

Sadler may, for the safer conducting of her in the removing, haue occasion to vse your assistance, or somme conuenient nomber of some gentlemen of that shire: these are therfore to requyre you, and in her majesties name to commande you, that you fayle not (accordinge as you shall receaue direccion from the said Sir Ralph Sadler) eyther yourself, if he shall require, or els by virtue of these our lettres, to require such other gentlemen as yow shall thinke good to make choice of in that shire, to be readie at such place and tyme as he shall appoint, to accompanye him, and to follow such other direccions, as he shall in her majesties name signefee vnto you and them, for the furtherance of that service. Whereof we earnestlie require both you and them, that there be nae default, as yow tender her majesties service and favor, and will awnswere to the contrarie. From Grenewich, the xth of January, 1584. Your verie lovinge friendes.

W. Burghley, C. Howard, J. Hunsdon,
F. Knollys, Jamys Croft, Chr. Hutton.

No. LXXVII.

To our verie lovinge freinde the Sherife of the Countie of Staffordc.

After our hartie comendacions. Whereas the Scotishe Quene is presentlye to be removed vnto the castle of Tutbury, there to remayne vnder the custodie of Sir Ralph Sadler knight, chauncelor of the duchye, by her majesties appointment: these are to requyre yow, and in her majesties name to charge and commaunde yow, accordinge to suche direction as yow shall receyve from the said Sir Ralph Sadler, to assist him, as well at the time that he shall conducte the said quene from Wingfelde, with such number of gentlemen and others of that shire, and with such provision for carriages or otherwyse, as the said Mr Chancelor shall appointe; as hereafter likewise at all other tymes to be ready, vpon such lettres and other directions as yow shall

receive from him, vpon all occasions to gyve him such assistaunce for the furtheraunce of that servyce there, and the safe keepinge of the said lady, as he shall requyre. And if he shall think it convenient, that yow yourself shalbe there at the removinge of the said queene to the said castle of Tutbury to accompanye him so conductinge of her, that yow fayle not therin to accomplishe and performe that you shalbe requyred on that behalf: as also to followe all other directions yow shall receyve herafter duringe his aboade there, and while he shalbe employed in that charge. Whereto we requyre yow to have especiall care, as yow tender her majesties servyce, and will answer to the contrarie. From Grenewiche, the xth of Januarye 1584. Your very loving frendes,

W. Burghley, Chr. Hutton, J. Hunsdon,
F. Knollys, C. Howard, Jamys Croft.

No. LXXVIII.

To Mr Secretarie, from Mr Sommer.

Right Honorable,

For answer to your lettre of the vith of this moneth, toching the laird of Ester-Weames sute and stay for answer from this Q. I ave sollycited Mr Nau, according to your appointment, for his mistres answer, without naming you, for so by your former you aduisid me; but as recommendid to me by a good freande, who had dealt with him therin at his being in London (for I had hearde that Mr. Wade had done so,) and so did he vnderstand it. He answerid, that his mistres was well persuaded of the said lairds good devotion to her service, and would therfore be ready to gratify him in a better sute when occasion might serue; and that he being altogether about the B. of Glasco in France, might watch for some such meanes. But that for this sute being a small graunte but of ii^{s} franch, (xx^{l} sterling) she had

bestoued it before Naues returne vpon one of her gentlewomen who came first with her into Englande, namid Janette Kenethy. In this answer he addid, that he was neuer moved by me from you theryn. Which if he had ben at that lairds first comming into England, he wolde haue writen therof to his mistres, who he supposed wolde willingly haue granted it, and a better, vpon your motion.

Toching the other points of your lettres, as the ordres to be obserued for the custody of this lady, which ar yet referred to Mr Chancellors discretion, and her majesties commaundement to my L. St. John to accept of this charge, they ar now answered by Mr Chancelers lettre. Toching Sir Amyas Pawlet to be tryed in this charge, the weak state of his body, wherof you judge well, and the distance of his duelling, I think ar to be allowed as a sufficient supersedens. And in case my L. St. John wolde be content to haue some joynid with him (which Mr Chancelor hearith this L. wolde take as a discredite,) if it wolde please her majestie to make choice of ii of these gent. of these parts, sownde in religion, fast to her majestie, besyds their neere duellings, their credit and knowledge in this counties, good healpes of meanes of maintenance and other healpes at hande, and will not alledge excuse to be from their wyues, nor seek to haue them with them, viz. Mr John Maners, Sir John Zouche, Sir John Byron, Sir Thomas Cockayn, one of these to attende with his L. and in his absence for a tyme, by her majesties leaue, to be both vpon the charge, her majestie might be well serued, they by turne easid, and so the burden not fownde over grevous. Pardon me I pray you for saying this myne opinion. Motions must be made befor any thing come to effect. Heerwith I sende yow a copy of thinventary which yow sent to me, of the Q. majesties stuff sent to Tutbury at this ladies first comming thither for her use. And now vpon breaking vp of this house, and devyding that stuff from the earls and now sent to Tutbury, I sende vnto you a note of so much as is fownde heere of her majesties, by the report of his L. officers, and a note of the wants, to be vsed and callid for as shalbe thought meete. It is thought that one

Lawrence Steele, a servant of his L. and now there with him, cn say most of all his men, what is become of those wants. Herewith ar also lettres from this Q. to the Queenes majestie. And so, &c. Wingfeld, the 13 of January, 1584.

LXXIX.

Sir Ralph Sadler *to Mr Secretary.*

Sir,

The ix^th^ of this moneth I receavid yours of the vi^th^, fynding therein, to my greate greef, your absence from the corte thorough the cause of your olde disease. But I trust, that by your experience and practise of the former meanes to restore yow to ease, yow shall not be long vnder the hands of them that wolde not be well at harts ease if all men were at ease. I perceaue by yours and by one from my Thresorer's, that my L. St John is with much difficulty browght to accept of this charge by commandement, but not with his good will, and that yow haue ben a good remembrancer for me therin, for the which I most hartely thank yow. God graunt that there be no change herin, but that I may shortly heare of his dispatche from the corte, and gyue some processe of the tyme of his coming hitherwarde, for the which I call by cowing through cold lowder then is myne ease. I fynde also, that a proportion of lxx^l^ by the weeke is set down as sufficient to defrey all charges for this Queenes dyet, and occasions depending on this charge: and so I beleeue it will doo, and some spare, being skilfully husbandid, so as my L. St. John and his company to comme with him besyde the soldyors do not exceede muche about xl. persons, as you haue writen it shall not. Within a while after my comming to Tutbury, I may perhaps sende yow some notes of meanes to ease the charges wherof Mr Cave had some remembrance in part, and may saue the signing of so many warrants, as otherwise ar to comme from her ma-

jestie. This day we depart hence towards Tutbury, this night to Darby, the whole jorney of xvi miles being now to long, specially for the first day, after lyeng so long still in a place, accompanyed, as by my last former I haue signifyed. Ther is nother fite way then by Darby by reason of the hills and woods, and yet this very evell. I have gyven strait order to the bailifs and others of Darby to provyde that there be no assemble of gasing people in the streets, and for all quyetness as much as may be done. She hath a small trayne of her most necessary people with her; all carriages and other impediments being gone before, and ar already at Tutbury with some of myne to attende on them. Toching new ordres to be from hensforthe observed at Tutbury for the garde and safety of this charge, which (yow wryte) is not yet agreed vpon by her majestie by reason of your absence, and is therfore referred to my discretion for the tyme, as is signifyed in your lettres to Mr Sommer: I meane to observe the former ordres, according to the places, tyme, and company. And for the nvmbre of soldyers, vntill I shalbe otherwise commaunded by her majestie, I haue already gyven order, by vertue of her H. commission, to haue ready at Tutbury tomorrow, Thursday, xxi soldyors to remayne and serue as her majesties ordinary retynewe, in dayly pay there of viii^{d} a day, and vi honest hable men to comme nightly out of the villages adjoyning as their turns will come about; who with iii of those soldyers (whose turn will thus come about but every seventh night) shall watche nightly in fit places. And for the daily warde, the soldyers being daily in the howse, some of them shall supply that service. And one of my folk, namid Richard Smythe, a man of good trust and lyke personage, to be gent. porter, as he hath ben syns the departure hens of the erles people. And the watche to be set by James Fenton, who hath serued in Irlande, and syns his discharge, as before that service, hath followed me. This I trust will suffice for the tyme vntill her majesties commandement further shall be brought thither by my L. St. John. Thus being ready to goo to our horses in a fayre day, I take my leave of you, &c. Wingfeld, 13 January 1584.

No. LXXX.

Sir Ralph Sadler *to my L. Tresorer.*

Please it your good L.

Your lettres of the vith of this Januarie I receyuid the xth, and upon consideracion of the same, do fynde meself most bound vnto your L., not only for the curteous maner of your writing to me both largely and playnelie, but also for your favourable and most friendlie dealing to releve me of this charge; which your great favor and gratuyte I shall neuer be able to requite, but yet shall neuer want good will thereto; for all that I can or shalbe able to do for your L. or any of yours, your L. shalbe most assured of, with my harte prayer and service during my lif; and so for this matier of my reliefe, as I see I nede not further to presse your L. to contineu your care of me therin, being of yourself so favourablie inclyned towards me, so I leave it as the thing which wolde be most comfortable to me, to your L. good furtherance, as your best oportunyte may serve. And where your L. writeth in thende of your saide lettre of her majesties desire to cut of as moche as may be the charges of the dietts and other charges incident to the garde of this Scottish Q., wherein I perceyue your L. hath had som conference with Mr Cave, and delyuered vnto him som notes, whereby we may the better lerne how to accomplish her majesties pleasure in that behalf, I assure your L. that for my parte, whills I am here I will not faile, though I coulde neuer skill of good husbandrie, yet to loke vnto it with such care as her majestie shalbe put to no superfluous charge as moche as in me is. And truly if a frugel and discrete man had the care of the provisions of all things for and concerning the said dietts and other charges, I think the allowance which was first allowed to the erle of Shrewesbure wolde fully supplie the same, as by iii or iiii

monethes experyence will appere, wherein after Mr Caves arryvall here, vpon consideracion of your saide notes and some conference to be had therevpon betwixt Mr Sommer, Mr Cave, and me, we shalbe better able to signefie our poure opynyons vnto your good L.

This day we remove this Q. to Derbie, and to-morrow to Tutburie, the wayes being so foule and depe, and she so lame, though in good helth of bodie, that we can not go thorough on a day, meself also being more vnhable then she is to travaile, for that I haue not ben well this moneth and more, ne yet shall, I feare, recouer so long as I remayne vpon this charge, whereof I long to be delyvered when it shall please God and her majestie. And so being loth to trouble your L. long, alwaies occupied with great affaires, with the reading of a longer lettre, I beseche Almighty God to preserve and kepe your L. in long life and good health, and to increase you in honor and vertue.

Postscripta. Ymediately after I had closed vp this lettre, your L. of the xth of this estate arryued here, by the which I perceyve your L. carefulnes of my libertie and delyverance from this charge doth still contynew; for the which I am most bownde to your L. And touching the placing of Sir Jo. Zouche in my rowme, trewly I thinke him as mete a gentleman as can be chosen to assiste my L. St John in this charge. But as touching Henry Skipwith, though I knowe him to be a very honest gentleman, and mete for that purpose, yet do I knowe also that he is not acceptable to this queene, because he had the garde of the late D. of Norffolk in the Tower, and that therfore she will have grete mislyking of him; wherfore, in my poure opinion, now that she loketh to have more libertee then she hath had, and to be more kyndelie treated of her majestie, according to such promises as her secretarie Nau hath brought from her majestie, it will brede a contrarie opinion in her, if any suche person as she so moche misliketh shoulde be placed aboute her. But for Mr Zouche, surely he is a very mete gentleman for the purpose. For my parte, I referr to her majesties pleasure to place him now in my place, and so to discharge me, or to deferre it vntill my L. St Johns comming. And if I wist that he

wolde com within this xx days, though I desire nothing more than to be at libertee, yet for that I vnderstande that many things be out of order within the honor of Tutburie, being parcell of the duchie, and within my charge, the woodds and game within the forest, chace, and parkes there, being greatly wasted and distroyed, I can be well contented for the better seruice of her majestie, to spend so moche tyme there to put things in better order for the preseruacion of the saide woodds and game as moche as in me is; and for the removing of this Q. I trouble this contrey as little as may be. I have iiii dayes past wryten myne own lettres to the saide Sir Jo. Zouche, and to Sir Jo. Byron, Sir Tho. Cockayn and to Mr Jo. Manners and Mr Curson, which dwell here at hande, and be now ready to attende vpon her this day to Derbie, and with but a small trayne, so that your lettres to the shreifs of Stafford and Derbie for that purpose shall not nede now to be delyuered. Also for the souldeours, though her majestie thinke that so gret a nomber shall not nede at Tutburye as here at Wingfelde, yet in dede Tutburye requireth rather a greter nomber, because the house is more spacious, and the contrey therabout more open; but yet for all that, I haue take order before the receipt of your L. lettre, to haue but half so many at Tutbury as we have had here, vntill I may know her majesties further pleasure in such things as of late I wrote, and now agayne have wrytten to Mr Secretarye, whereof I wolde be glad to receyue som good answer. Mr. Somer in dede desereuth thanks, and more than thanks, of her majestie; for she hath a wise, discrete, and good seruant of him; it is he that easeth me of th'ole burden and care of this seruice; wherin, if it had not ben for his helpe and carefull assistence, I coulde not haue so long contynewed; and therfore I am the more loth to leave him behinde me. Wingfeld, 13 January 1584.

No. LXXXI.

To my Lord Thesaurer from Sir R. SADLEIR.

My very good lord,

Vpon Thursday, the xiiii[th] of this moneth, I came hither with this Q. my charge very well, having had two faire dayes. Mr Caues journey was shortened by so muche, who came hither the xvi[th]. The messages which your L. delyverid to him in wryting ar now answerid by Mr Somer, as yowe appointid the care thereof to him, and ar herwith sent to your L.

My L. Pagets late houshold stuff not holding out so good in substance as in qualite, of so muche as was brought hither, besydes the meanesse of the more part of it, causid somewhat adooe to please this company. But with some shift and words to supply with speede the necessary wants, the better sort wer quyeted. I sent to Coventree for some fethers to helpe many shotten beds, and for some common coverlets and blankets, whereof in deede heere is neede this colde wether in this colde house, and for some dornix to make common hangings for her gentlewemens and principall officers chambres, and to make curteyns and testers for her gentlewemen, and window clothes for her chambre, for hither came not one payre of curteyns. I haue also sent for as much lynen cloth, of three sorts, as will make lx payre of sheetes more, for a change, as is needefull. These alredy delyverid will be ready to be shifted before new can be made, I feare. If that toun will not yeld vs all those things, I must needs sende further for the lacks, for fayer words and promesses will not keepe folk warm long Mr Thomas Grevesly, late sherif of this county, hath sold to Mr Digby x pair of hangings which wer in my L. great chambre. They wolde have serued well heere, for many of suche as came hither

vnder the name of hangings, wer no better, no bigger, then meane counterpoints, wherof I believe that Mr Grevesley is not to beare the wyte, the best of all things being gon before he went to make the inventary; and I see no likelihoode of their returne into this contrey, partly Mr Digby being vnwilling to depart with them, and also for that Mr Grevesley is orderid to delyuer me some portion of money growing of the sales of some of that stuffe, to provide lynnen and other wants heere. And so hath he offred to send to me, within a day or two, c (100) l. I thinke he hath xxx or xl more of these sales, if neede be.

As for myne opinion touching Sir John Zouche to attend heere on this charge after me, and then I to attend the soner, I wrote therin to your L. by post, the xiiith of this monethe. If her majestie will be pleasid, vpon your report of my writing, to heere my motion in that behalf, I will trust then to make a report to her H. of this charge, which is now in very good state for health, and begynneth to goo about her chambre, with some healpe, her foote being yet swolne and weake. She lykyth her awne lodging heere well; but better she wolde lyke it, if it were hangid with better hangings then these late my L. Paget's, being vnsewtable and vnlymid. Her majesties be to deep for her romes by almost the half, and therfore desyrith to haue some other from her majestie. Her chambre is but ix foote deepe, from the reason or wallplace being seeled vnder the rafters as a pavillion roof, and for the reasons overhead ar stretchid some of her majesties large hangings. viii or ix peeces will serue to hang that chambre, viz. one of . . . foote, one of . . f. and one of . . f. and so many other as will make xxxiii foote, being all the length of her chambre on one syde, with a returne from the chimney: that syde hath no timber.

Your L. vnderstandith by Mr Somers answers to your memoryall, that Mr Candishe is now comme hither, and though he be gon abrode, yet my Lady Grace, his nise, remaynith heere; and, as I have an inclyning, meaneth so to do, and he shortly to returne, and to abyde, vn-

till they shalbe provydid of some house of the L. Pagets, in lieu of his heere, namely, Bandegrete, and some other commodites there about; I haue thought it my duety to signefy thus muche, to be consyderid and ordred by her majestie, whether it be meete that they, or any of them, shall remayne heere so neere to this Q.; his house being within stones cast of the corte of this castell.

Some wants requyred to be supplyed vnto this Q. which she hath recommendid to me, ar hangings for her chambre, as is afore noted, some white belles for her housholde, six carpets for the flures of her bedchambre, vsed in tyme of her syeknes and for her closet, and two siluer chafling dishes.

Other wants she fyndith, wherof her secretary Nau sendith now a memoriall, which she prayd me to recommende to her majesties good lyking and consent. Two other things she desyrith earnestly to vnderstande. The one is, whether her lettre which she sent vp to her majestie about the vith of this moneth, to be first seene, and then sealid by her H., and so conveyed to her son, be so sent or no, by a saue messenger, that will delyuer it to his awn hande, as she desyreth. Thother is, how her majestie lyke and accept of her consent in that maner to joyne in the English associacion. She is right joyfull to vnderstande, that her majestie is well satisfyed with her wryting, as your L. wryteth. She wryteth now agayn to her majestie, which I send to your L. herewith.

The same day this Q. came hither, my L. Stafforde passid speedely through this towne with iii or iiii in his company, himself playnely apparelled, and stayde at a village ii miles hence, callid Hilton, in an alehouse, whilest this Q. was past, where some of my folk espyed him in a wyndow. So sone as we wer all a good way past, he rode to Burton that night, as one of the village brought me worde, but I knew not where he became after. His house of most abode is about xiiii myles hence. 21 [originally the 19th] January, 1584.

No. LXXXII.

Postscript to a Letter of Mr Somer *to the Lord Treasurer of the* 21 *Jan.* 1584.[1]

Synce the wryting of my present lettre to your L. and a privat motion made aloof to Mr William Agard, of a ratid proportion in quantites and prices of purveyances, in my lettre mentionid, I fynde him very willing for her majesties service to vndertake all that mater vnder a person of qualite. He is a particuler recevor of this honor, duellith within these two myles. He maryed one of the heyres of Mr Fr. Agard, late of Irland. He is a man of good welth, credit, and acquaintance in all these parts; a man of very good vnderstanding, towards l. [50] yeres old, and in very good credit with Mr Chancelor. He can gyve very good direction readily in all thinges of houshold, being put in trust, but wolde not take the chif charge, for he hath sometyme busynes abrode.

[1] The letter appears to have been lost.

No. LXXXIII.

Memoryall of Wants for the Scotish Queen and others. Jan. 17, 1584.
For the Quene and her Housholde.

The width and depth of her chambre. To the cort.[1]

Hangings throwghlie lyned, fitt for her bedchamber, and the light ones, vnsewtable and vnlyned, which ar presentlie, may serve for her majesties gentlewemen.

To vse some of them now in the Q. chambre.

Two hangings for the two doores of her majesties vtter chamber.

The like in this place.

Two peece of hangings for her majesties closet.

To the court.

Six good carpets for the floores, as well within her majesties chamber, her bed, vtter chamber, as her closett, but specially in her bedchamber when she is sicke.

Shalbe providid heere.

A carpet for a boorde in her majesties bedchamber.

Six courtyns to hange on windowes, to witt, two in her majesties bedchamber, two in her vtter chamber, and two in her closets.

Fowre cwissins.

A chyre for her table at denner and supper.

To the court.

Two silver chawfrets.

Alredy done.

A howse for her majesties lawendars, with tooles necessary for their offices.

One to beare wood and coles to her majesties chamber.

[1] These marginal notes are in the hand-writing of Mr Somer.

Shalbe providid heere.	Threttie payres sheetes to be distribute for change amongst her majesties folks, to witt, xv payres for the principall servants, and the rest coursear. Twelve payre blankets. Boordes, coopboords, bankes, stooles, and chyres.
To the court.	Six silver boles to drink in, for the houshold.
Some shalbe providid heere.	Common hangings for the chambers of the principal servants. Augmentation of fethers for the beds. Twelve bed coverlets.
As much as was allowed in my L. of Shrewsbury's tyme, 14 quartes, and augmentation of ii quartes tomake it xiiii quartes.	Fyve gallons of wyne, to be allowed a day for all.
To be providid heere.	Some lynings, as towals and commoun napkyns.
Already done.	Allowance, within the house, for her majesties cotcheman, and the horskepears vnder him.

No. LXXXIV.

Sir Ralph Sadleir *to the L. Thresorer.*

My very good L.

Your lettre of the xviiith of this moneth was brought hither to me by this messenger Hills, the 22. To the first point, of our remoue from Wingfeld, and arryvall heere, your L. hath by this tyme vnder-

derstood it by myne of the 21. by post. To the second, for that nombre of gentlemen attendant, thought by her majestie to make a shew of feare: at the lodging in Derby, and more amply at their departure hence, this Q. thankid the Q. majestie for the honor it had pleasid her to shew vnto her by appointing such grave and ancient wyse gentlemen, and of that calling and reputacion, to accompany her in this jorney, and gaue great thankes to them all, which I think surely she meant as she spake it. For neyther by word nor shew at Wingfeld, when she heard first of that convoy, nor by the way, she made no appearance of mislyke, but rather of good contentment. They came but with their houshold seruants and many furnitures, the best not exceeding xvi persons. To the thurde, of her majesties mislyking of the likelihode of the charges heere to be as great as my L. of Shrewsburyes first allowance, and that I shuld deuise how the charge shuld not excede the yerely rate of xv^{c}. [1500] l. which youe thought was impossible to be done, allowing for c. persons at the least. I am of your L. opinion in that point, as experience shewith me heere by this litle beginning; and to healpe to ease that as much as may be, in outward shewe and opinion, howsoever theffect will fall out, Mr Somer hath, by his lettres, and pryvat notes, sent with my said last dispatch, advertised yow of some meanes (as it is thought) how to do it. This beginning confirmith hitherto my L. of Shrewsbury's sayeng to me, that no man, having not such helpes of prouisions as he had, should be able to goo thoroagh honorably with this charge, hardly for 3000l. ayde. But now that we lyve altogether vpon the peny, all the best convenyent helpes are to be sought, as certeyn prouisions late the L. Pagets, noted vnto your L. by Mr Somers last lettres, which being ones in vse, will spare some money. In the meane tyme, I se no remedy, this Q. being kept in this sort, but her majestie must abyde this brunt of charge, as they may out, vnder honest officers. I haue causid Mr Caue to set down in wryting a note of this housholdes charge for this one weeke past sins we came hither, whereby the charge of a long-

er tyme may be partly seene. Methinks the diet to be mended, and the prices of things very reasonable, and neede no commission be the Q prices, for in deed outfyors ar odiouse, whereof we had som tryall at Wingfeld. Many commodites of powltry and fowle wer usually brought neere to the house, very good cheape, which, after commission was knowne to comme down and purveyors abrode (I know not how they vsed it) that vse was forborne, and the commodites caryed farther from sight, and the hous meanly seruid that way for som tyme. Of those things Mr Somer writeth more to your lordship, which makith my lettre the shorter.

I thank your L. very hartely for the good hope your lettre gyvith me of my L. Johns comming at lenth, and shortly to redeeme mee. In the tyme I follow your L. advise, and do see greater spoyles yn these woddes and game than ar to be borne withall, if the offenders wer to be callid to a rekoning and suffered; but when I haue seene all, and vnderstande as moche as I can, I will make report what I fynde and think of therein. As for one to assist my L. in this charge, which is myne opinion, will be comfortable surely, if her majestie may so be pleasid to allow it. Sir John Zouch is a very meete person for many respects, as I have lately writen to your L. myne opinion.

The departure of myne old acquaintance, as your L. writeth, therle of Lincolne, puttith elder folk in remembrance to prepare themselfs to passe that pase, which makith me the more to desire to be in another place to haue yet some comfort emong them, whom God hath blessid me withall to be as staues for my old dayes. And so trusting to see shortly theffect of my desyre, with my most harty commendations to your good L. I take my leave of you, &c. 25 January, 1584.

No. LXXXV.

Mr Somer *to the L. Treasurer.*

Right Honorable,

I haue so oft heard and felt of the Q. majesties extraordinary fauors and goodnesse with effect towards me, as the new repetition thereof in such princely sort. and as from herself your L. hath honourably delyvered them to me by your lettres, makith me more ashamed that they ar bestowed upon a person of so small desert, then to think myself worthy of the lest of them, knowing right well that in any thing I do, it is my bounden duety towards God and her majestie, and yet in all but vnprofitable. If her majestie had bestoued more vpon me then is meete for me to haue, all the recompence I can returne, is baren thanks, or her awne agayne; and my harty prayer to Almighty God for her majesties prosperite and long lief, which prayer shall not faile, nor end with me, but be dutyously contynewed by them, who, if God spare me, ar to haue part of these blessings, which by God's goodnes, her majestie being thereof the instrument, haue ben bestowed vpon me. In these things I must of right and duety acknowledge a great obligation to your L., for the which I must humbly thank you, whome God long preserue, as your vnfaynid wellwillers and seruants do desyre of him for many good causes.

With Mr Chancellors last depeche to your L. of the 21 of this present, I was bolde to signify vnto your L. my poor opinion in some things, wherin I boldly prevented your L. desire, mentionid in yours brought hither synce. Of that mynde am I still, that no stranger can do the forrayne actions of this seruice of her majesties commodite so pertinently to know what he doth, as some well chosen wise persons of credit, acquaintance and abode in these parts, can do. And

that some person countenanced in corte by her majesties service, to be appointid hither as superintendent of this houshold, wolde be for her majesties honor, that person to be instructed to vse and of such of these parts as can direct him for her H. honor and proffit. But if her majestie will not be vnservid there of any such as I haue named, nor will contynue Mr Cave heere to haue the chief authorite in maters of housholde; if then her majestie wold be pleasid to imploy Mr. Wm. Agarde in the whole of that seruice, of whom I lately wrote to your L., I am veryly persuadid that he will do her majestie good seruice to her contentment herin, so much as may be done with her honor and respect to this lady, as she meanithe. I haue pryvatly entrid with him in this matter, and haue fownd him pleyable, though he be well to live, not desirous of troblesom charge, nor restraynt of his accustomid liberte from his home, but ready to do her majestie seruice all that he can do. Wherof surely he hath sheued as yet he hath good testimony. For the particular respect of Mr Chancelor, who bestoued vpon him this office of a particular receator of the duchy, and is heere every day with him, and for his more contenance heere and in that seruice abrode, if it shall please her majestie to vse him in this seruice to direct or to assist, to favour him with the title of her seruant in some extraordinary calling, as gent. vssher extraordinary, being a tall personable gentleman, in myne opinion it wolde serue to good purpose for her seruice; and during this charge to allow him some enterteynemente out of this common charge, not by speciall graunt, which perhaps wolde not lyke her majestie, for his credit and countenance only, though his attendance, and therby absence from his awne busynesses and libertyes, will deserue consideration. Heereby duellith also a brother of his, George Agarde, who hath sometyme servid Sir Walter Mildmay, and is vsed in other charges vnder his brother William. To him is committed, vnder his brother, by Mr Chauncelor, the provision of wood and cole to be made and brought for this company; and hath so well delt therin, as the bringing hither of a lode costith the Q. but

ii[d] a myle, the townships here about owing of old seruice hither, though of late not called vpon, contrybuting or serving themselfs for the rest.

As toching a plot of the nombres, and charge which may be established from thence when my L. St John shall comme hither, Mr Chancelor is about the same with these Q. officers, what allowance is to be made and settled for her and her houshold in all things. Wherof Mr Caue caryed vp with him a note, so farre furthe as coulde be learned by my L. of Shrewsbury's officers was allowed to her. Which corse hath ben obseruid euer sythens. And so sone as the same shalbe set downe heere, he will sende it to your L. as you requyre. Your L. hath by this tyme seene yn Mr Chancelors last depeche, and by this Q. awne lettres, what numbres this Q. desyrith of men, wemen, and horses, and my answers to her secretary, which coulde not satisfye her.

In answer to your L. other lettre to me, Mr Chancelor hath leyde a post at this place to cary his packets to Loughborough, xv fowle miles hence; and he to cary his charge to Witham, xv myles further, which is the post and highwaye betwene Grantham and Stamforde, by which waye he sent the last and first packet from hence in post. This is the neerest way to gett into the ordinary post waye. These two posts are paid xx[d]. *per diem* a peece, wherwith he of Loughborough is not pleasid but vpon a proff for a while; and he of Witham lookith also for some consyderacion for breaking out of his accustumid waye, which will cause him keepe one horse more, as Howlson of Newark sayth he did, and for allowance for that seruice during our being at Wingfeld hath made peticion to Mr Secretary.—25 January, 1584.

No. LXXXVI.

Copie of the Cardinal of Como's Lettre to Dr. Parry, 30 January, 1584.

Monre.

Sa Sta di N. Sre ha veduto le lettere di V. S. del primo, con la fede inclusa, et non può se non laudare la buona dispositione et risolutione che scrive di tenere verso il servicio et beneficio publico, nel che la Sa S. l' essorta di perseverare con farne riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette: Et acciochè tanto maggiormente V. S. sia ajutata da quel buon spirito che l'ha mosso, si concede sua Bne plenaria indulgenza et remissione di tutti li peccati secondo che V. S. à chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n'haverà in cielo, vuole ancora S. Sta constituirsi debitore a riconoscer li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che potea, et cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. usa maggior modestia in non pretender niente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi et honorati pensieri et attenda a star sano, che per fine io me le offero di cuore, et li desidero ogni buono et felice successo. Di Roma a 30. di Genaro 1584. *Al piacere di V. S.*

A Monre *N. Carle di Como.*
Monsignor Guglielmo Parry.

No. LXXXVII.

Sir R. SADLER *to the L. Thresorer, 5 Febr.* 1584.

My very good L.

With mine of the xxv^th^ of January, I sent yow by Hills the messenger, whom your L. sent hither, a note from Mr Caue of the precedent weeks charges of this whole housholde, syns we came hither, as your L. requyred, which by the course of a lettre brought to me yesterday from your L. of the first of this present, by my seruant Jo. Dauet, I fynde was not then comme to you; wherin I cannot praise the diligence of that messenger, vnles he had some mishap by the way. Syns that tyme, vpon conference with this Q. officers about a plat of an establishment certeyn of her housholde in all things, as she hath long desyred, and as your L. aduised Mr Somer to send to yow, to be consideredid of, against the comminge downe of the successor: I do now sende vnto your L. heerwith one booke of all her present allowance, and an other of her demaunds for some augmentation, wheryn she herself rebated somwhat (vpon sight of the first notes) from her officers demaunds, lyke a frugall good houswif, sayeng that she will have nothing superfluous. She earnestly desyrith that a certeyn resolucion may be settlid in that behalf, not to be altered vpon any change of governor. Mr Somer sendith now to your L. answer to the rest of your articles sent vnto me to be answerid by him, the same being now accomplished according to your direction.

I perceaue by your L. said lettre, brought to me by John Dauet, that my L. St John being excusid from this charge vpon suche considerable causes as your L. alleagith, Sir Amyas Pawlet, now worthely one of her majesties privy counsell, is appointed, and hath willingly consented to take it vpon him, wherof I am right glad: but gladder

that your L. trustith I shall not tary heere many dayes. And for my further comforte, that you will hasten him to the best speede you cann. I hartely thank her majestie and your good L. for these good tydings.

I am very sory of her majesties displeasure towards Mr Gresley, for selling my L. Pagets late stuff, which I may think he did by the perswasion of some that wer desyrous to haue of it, and that he had authorite *ex officio*, after praisement to sell it to her majesties vse without further warrant, being perhaps vnacquainted with the lyke president. I cannot perceaue that he kept any part of it for his awne vse, but vnderstand that the best was gone afore he came to it: and therfore surely in myne opinion is not willingly faulty. But yet I will not excuse him in the selling it without warrant, as beforetyme I haue tolde him, when he seemid to be very sory for it. According to your L. appointment by her majesties commandement, I will send for him and delyver him the processe, which I darre say for him, will be a great greff to him, for I take him to be of a good nature. Mr Ferrers shall also haue your L. lettre to him.

Toching the articles sent by Nau with myne of the xxi, your L. may see by my answer for the process, that I gaue him small comfort, and in playne termes told him myne opinion thereof; and for an increas of horses and seruants, he was prayed to moue his Mrs to forbeare to requyre them yet, having no great neede, specially of mo horses this winter; but that wold not serue, seeing (as he said) her majestie had partly agreed to it. But though I looke for some mislyke at her handes in delyvering answer, that the resolution thereof stayd vntill my returne to her majestie, yet I will do therin as your L. adviseth me, so sone as this depeche is gon, least she delyver now to her majestie her mislyking of that answer as she will do, she said, by her lettres, now for the not sending her lettres sooner into Scotland to her son. The stay wherof so long after the Mr of Grayes arryvail with the king her son, she fearith wilbe greatly hurtfull to her and to him in these good beginnings betuene the Q. majestie and them. I perceaue

by her she wrytith now to her majestie for leaue to sende one into Scotland, sayeng that she fearith all wilbe marred before any can be there from her, by the E. of Arran and the young Mr of Gray.

I perceaue also that there is order taken to send hither some peeces of plate which she requyrith. I haue now noted to Mr Secretary certeyn other things of no great valew, needfull to be vsed heere, besyds some that I haue providid of the said kynds which are entrid in the bill herin. These things being provydid aboue will spare muche of this houshold money, which goith away apace; and may be brought downe on horsback by the caryers of Derby and of this toun, for lesse than 1d. a lib. And so may the plate be also brought in a tronk, well malid in canvas, much better chepe than by cart.

Toching this Q. note for a tent of tapissery doble lynid with canvas, for her chambre, wherin your L. cannot vnderstand her meaning, I indede heard her [not] speake of any suche tent. But of lynid hangings for her chambre, these small vnsutable peces which she hath now, being vnlynid. And for suche Mr Somer sent your L. a note of the depthe of her chambre and of the membres and lengthes of the peces requysit for it, observing the spaces betuene the windowes, because her majesties hangings wer to deepe almost by the half. It may well be that she meant first suche, or sparver, or travers as your L. doth note to be her meaning. For in stead of suche a one, at the least ouer head, there is tyghtid over her bed a large pece of her majesties, from one syde of her chambre to the other, being 17 foote wyde, betweene the wall places, following the order of the roof, which is not lefted over, but seelid vnder the rafters, which makith her chambre the warmer, to her good lyking: And speakith of no want there but of such lynid sutable hangings. But if she call for such a tent, or other , when I may know her meaning, it shalbe done as well as it may be heere. Toching the foot carpets for her bedchambre, which your L. sayth ar named by her *tapisserye de velour*, I know her meaning is to haue some turky work carpets to lay about her bed as she had

at her first coming to this place, which with evell vsing, and in so many yeres, to the nombre of vii or viii peces ar not worth the carying, but onely to make vptale, and ar heere vi or vii of them altogether broken and vnserviceable. And those they call *tapisserie velue*, rough tapissery; it may be considered how many of them, according to their bignes, will serve to lay about a bed. For if they ly further in the chambre, it wilbe in vayne and soone spoylid, example the other. Betueen the hearth of the chymney and her bed is about vii foote.

Now as toching the Q. majesties mislyking that I lodgid this Q. in Derby towne, coming hitherwarde, I assure her majestie and your L. that it was full sore against my will, if it might haue ben holpen. For to avoyde that towne if it might haue ben, I sent dyvers tymes of my seruants of good judgement, and ones Mr Somer, ryding to Tutbury to see if there wer any waye passable with coche and caryage, and convenyent place to lodge her and the company in some village or yn some gentlemans house, for the jorney was to far in one day. And after they had well sought, they reported that there was no other possable waye for coche, but by the common way, and scant that at that tyme of the yere, by reason of hills, rocks, and woods. And I myself making a tryell ii or thre miles, fynding it true, caused bridges to be made to avoyde many eviil passages. And as for any gent. house that way, or any other in dyuers miles, there was none but Mr Knyvetons house of Mercaston, a small house for such a purpose, and very litle meanes in that village, and standing in the worst way, which makith me humbly to beseeche her majestie to think that if ther had ben any other meanes, I wolde not haue comme by Derby, for I did foreconsyder of that, and therfore I wrote long before what way we must needs take.

And toching the informacion of a great personage, delyuerid to him by som officious officer, that this Q. was offred to salute and kysse a multitude of the tounes wemen, and of other speeches that (is sayde) she vsed to them; I do lykewise assure, and therto Mr Somer will be sworne if neede be, I going next before her, and he next behynd her,

yea, before all the gentlemen of purpose, saving one that caryed vp her goun, that her intertaynment was this. In the litle hall was the goodwife, being an ancient wydow, namid Mrs Beaumont, with iiii other wemen her neighbors. So sone as she knew who was her hostesse, after she had made a beck to the rest of the wemen standing next to the doore, she went to her and kissed her, and none other, sayeng that she was comme thither to trouble her, and that she was also a wydow, and therefore trusted that they shulde agree well inough together, having no husbands to trouble them. And so went into the parler vpon the same low floure, and no stranger with her but the goodwyfe and her sister. And there Mr Somer stayde, vntill the Q. put off her vpper garment, and toke other things about her. And further, so sone as she was within her lodging, the gentleman porter stoode still at the doore to suffre none to go into the house but her awne people from their lodgings next adjoyning. And then I appointid the baylifs to cause a good watche of honest housholders to be at all the corners of the towne and in the market place. And viii to walke all night in the streete where she lodgid, as myself, lyeng over against that lodging, can well testify, by the noise they made all night. This your L. may boldly affirme if it please you vpon any occasion, which I will confirme when God shall sende me to answer, if it shall happen to come in question. In the meane tyme, I referre the ordring of it further to your L. consideracion.

I send now also herwith to your L., as I promisid, the ordres which I haue set downe heere, and made knowne to all to whome it belongith, for the safeguarde of this Q. and namely to be obseruid by the 30 soldyers, whom I haue chosen out emong her majesties tennants of this honor and duchy, handsom, lusty men, and well appointid, at viiid. for their sold *per diem*. And haue also gyven them the order now sent also herwith. To the articles it may please you to add further as shalbe thought meete. 5 Febr. 1584.

No. LXXXVIII.

Sir Ralph Sadler *to Mr Secretary* Walsyngham.

Sir,

Vpon the receipt of your lettres of the xxx^th^ of January, brought to me the second of this present, I did let the Q. of Scots vnderstand that her lettre to her son was sent, and thought to be with him befor the date of your lettres, and the cause of the longer stay of it, as it is mentionid in your lettre. She cowlde hardly disgest that cause, but seemid rather to mistrust that it was stayde (she knowithe not by whose meanes) vntill the Mr of Gray had wholly discharged himself of his negociations with the Q. majestie, and that the favourits about her son had done their pleasure to blemishe any thing she cowlde send, before it cowlde comme to him: shewing some greef that it was sent no sooner, for she fearith still their evell caryage of her son, after their evell affections. I did what I cowlde to pacify and to satisfy her, as in such cases of her concept and impression it is no easy thing to doe at the first. But in thende she satisfied herself with the assurance (she said) that the Q. majestie, her good suster, knew not of the stay.

As to the other point of your lettre, of the evell furniture of this castell of things meete for this Q., wherof it seemeth that she complaynid to her majestie, who thervpon conceavid offence against those that wer appointid to see it: I wrote to yow vpon report of a vew made of the L. Pagets late stuff, how meane it was; and that vnles the whole might be brought yn according to the inventory made with the shiryve, there wolde not be sufficient of hangings and beds with their furniture, and no lynen at all. Whervpon lettres were written to the shiryve from the counsell, willing him to get yn agayn all the

stuff which had ben solde, by redemption for the money paid: which he answerid he cowde not doo, for that the stuff solde, namely, x peeces of the largist hangings, which Mr Digby had, and som beds, wer in some hands that wolde not delyver them without expresse commandement from the counsell. And so betwene his soliciting and their refusall, we comming hither fownde som wants; but very few in the Q. own lodgings, and with those few, as wyndow curtens, and such lyke small things, she seemid to beare vntill things might be provydid in this new tyme. Indeede some of her people had a litle patience for curteins and so many coverings and hangings in this cold house as they desyrid (but most of myne, muche more even at this daye) vntill I had gotten from Lychefeld and Coventre coverlets, blankets, some fethers, dornix, and som lynen for mo sheets for a change. These things being comme, they ar all meetely well furnished: namely all the best, at the least the higher sort, have no grete cause to complayne; and lesse there wilbe, when the lynid hangings which I lately requyred by her note also sent vp at that tyme, shalbe brought downe. And being now entrid into this purpose, if there might be brought downe hither with that stuff, 300 or 400 weight of good swete fethers, (none good hereabouts to be bought,) good downe, and fustian for iiii or v pillowes for herself, or the pillowes ready made, iii or iiii peeces of good brode dornix for mo curtens or canapayes, for we had not one payre, (from my L. Pagets onely two or three meane canapyes,) and to serue for hangings for some of the gent. chambres, and vii or viii lib. of curten rings: those things will do pleasure heere. Coverlets and blankets we can fynde heerabouts. If these things comme from yow, (and will be brought by the caryers of Derby and of this towne for i^{d}. the lib.) it will spare this houshold money, which wastith apace. My L. Thresorer appointid Mr Gresley, late Sheryve of this county, to bring hither some of the money which hath been made of the sale of the L. Pagets late stuff. And so hath he delyverid to Mr Bryan Cave cxxiiii l.

wherof aboue cl. hath ben already layd out for the provisions from Lychefeld and Coventree.

Vpon my L. Thresorers motion to haue an estimat of this housholds charges for a weeke, I causid Mr Cave to make a booke therof for one weeke, which I sent to his L. with myne of the xxv of the last monethe. And now, vpon a conference with this Q. officers, there is set downe one booke what is now daily served to her and to her housholde of all things. And an other booke what they desyre to be augmentid: both which I sende now vnto my L. Thresorer, because he requyred it, and doo now goo heerwith, which yow may see, and then send them to his L. vnder your seale. After we had done, this Q. herself pervsed them, and rebated some small things of her officers demaunds, lyke a frugall good housewyf.

She desyrith very muche that an ordre certeyn might be setlid and establishid for her things, aswell for her house as for her escuyrye, least vpon alteration of a governor, there follow also a change in these points. Lykewise she desyrith to know the Q. majesties good will and pleasure vpon her requests which I sent lately to my L. Thresorer, for ii gentlewemen more, to ease these iiii in the watchings with her in the tymes of her syknes and greefs, to thende she may, with her majesties good favour, send into Fraunce or Scotland for them, if she may haue none in Englande. And also mo horses, to make up xvi with xi she hath already, wherof vi ar at her majesties charges, and so haue ben long, and fownde before by the E. of Shrewsbury. Of these and other things she delyverid a memoryall, which I sent to my L. Thresorer. I do express them agayn, because she is so earnest to haue answer, for she must haue a good tyme to sende for them, specially the seruants. She is also as earnest to know to whose custody she shalbe committed after me, and who shall assist, if any do. She is now answerid to one of the two speciall points which she did specially recommend to my remembrance, that is, concerning her lettre to her son. Thother is,

how dothe her majestie lyke and accept of the act which she sent to her H. syns Naus returne, toching her joyning in that sort in the Englishe association.

I am right hartely glad to fynd by your lettre, that yow trust to be at the corte now very shortly, so as I trust yow ar well recoverid; as also that I may haue the contynewance of your good healpe to rid me hence, wherin I am also very muche beholding to my L. Thresorer, for I perceaue that he hath done what he cowlde; but God did not yet appoint the tyme: and yet I must not be careles of that which importyth me so muche. In this tyme of your absence from the corte, I receaued ii dispatches from the said L. by the Q. majesties commandement, he being then at the cort, whervnto I answerid to this L. and left to trouble yow therwith; and yet think (as partly by your lettre I gather) that yow haue ben made acquainted with that of the xix of January. I send also now to my said L., as so promised also by my last to him, suche ordres as I haue set downe heere for the garde of this Q. and namely to be obserued by the xxx soldyers which, by her majesties commaundement, I have reteynid in this castell in the solde of viii^{d}. *per diem*, handsom, lusty men, and well appointid, all having good freends in this part of Staffordshire, or neere herabout, in Derbyshire, the most of them being of her majesties farmers or farmers sons depending vpon this honor and duchy; that there may be further addid thervnto as shalbe thought meete, and also the othe which I haue gyven them.

I have also wryten to v justices of the peace, next neghbors in this county, and to iiii lyke in Derbyshire, to be themselfs and their servants in readines with their horses, vpon all occasions, if neede shalbe. And also for watche and warde, to be kept in fite places, within x myles of this castell.

Having writen thus fare, ready to make vp and sende away this packet, I receavid this evening, by my servant John Dauet, a lettre from my L. Thresorer of certeyn points by her majesties commande-

ment. And emong other, some answers to be made to this Q. vnto some of her notes sent vp with my depech of the xix[th] of Ja. and mentionid heere aboue, which, for discharge of your care of them, I haue noted in the margen, what is answerid and now superfluous to be writen heere. His L. writeth further of my L. St Johns stay from this jorney and charge, vpon afflictions happenid to his body and mynde; and that in his place Sir Amyas Pawlet hath assentid to take it, and that I shall but tary heere but few dayes, for his L. will haste him to the best speede he can, which God graunt; to whome, yn that good hope, with my most harty commendations vnto yow, I recommende us all to the Almighty.

Tutbury, v Febr. 1584.

No. LXXXIX.

The Justices Names to whom Mr Chancelor hath writen to be carefull. 5 *Febr.* 1584.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, NEERE TUTBURY.

In the countics of		*Miles.*
Derby	Sir Thomas Cockayn of Ashborn	7
	Nicolas Browne of Snelston	6
	Francis Curson of Ketelston	6
	John Harper of Swarkston	6
	Mr Vernon, Shiriue	3
	N. Francis.	7
	Henry Sacheverell	7
	Tho. Knyveton	7

Staffordshire . . .	Thomas Greuesley of Draklow . . .	4
	Humfrey Ferrers of Walton	5
	John Bowes of Elford	8
	Aderley of Coton	2
	Richard Bagott of Blyfeld	6
	Mr Lee, Shirive	20
	Jo. Chatwin	
	Tho. Trenham	

No. XC.

New Dorniks delyverid out at Tutbury since first of February, 1584.

There wer bought at Coventry, emong other thinges, two whole peces of dorniks, contayning cxxiiii yards, and certen od yards. Herof one peece, containing lx yards, was destributed by Mr Somer as followith:

ix Febr. 1584.

One parcell for the syde of the stayres going downe to the Q. dyning chambre, conteyning	iii yards
To make valences to the travers in the Q. chambre, which was made of some of thother peece of lxiiii yards, and to enlarge it	iiii yds.½
To the surgeon and potecary for their vse in their chambre	iii
To Mr Melvills chambre, to hang one syde of it . . .	xvi
To Martin, the Mr cooke, for his bed	ix
For the Q. billyards boorde	vi
For a cubborde clothe to the great chambre, which, with the cupborde, was caryed syns to Sir Am. Poulets chambre .	ii
To Mr Darrell, for a carpet for his boorde	ii½
To hang before Mr Dauets chambre doore	ii½

For the syde boorde where seruice was said in the great chambre ii yds.
For the table in the stoore chambre v
Ther remainid a remnant, which was delyuerid this 8 day of
May to my lady Powlet . . . . . v½

lxi yards—a yard gotten in the measure by lykelyhoode.

Of thother peece of lxiiii yards wer made:
To Mrs Rallay, a canapye of . . . . . xiiii yards
To the physicion, the furniture for a bed, viz. curtens and
tester xiiii
To the surgeon and poticary, for the lyke purpose . . xiiii
For a traverse in the Q. chambre . . . . about xii or xiii yards,
I do not remember.
For dyuers window curteins to the Q. dyning chamber, and
for her dyning chambre . . . . . about xii yds.
For a screene for the gentlewemen . . . . xiiii yds., or therabout
For a carpet for the asquier . . . . . yds.
Of another sort, not elle-brode, the gentlewemens chambre
was hangid, at the lest . . . . . xl yds.
To hang befor Mr Melvills chambre doore . . . about xii yds.

No. XCI.

To some Justices in Derby and Staffordshires to compound for caryages to Tutbury in ther lymits. 12 *Febr.* 1584.

After my very harty commendations. Wheras, by the Q. majesties commaundement, the Q. of the Scots is brought to remayn in this castell of Tutbury, wherby the contrey herabouts hath ben, and must needs be, so muche troublid and chargid with caryages to bring hither wood, cole, and other things needfull for the provision of this place, the neerest with caryages, and the further of with contrybutions, for the ease wherof as moche as may well be, and to thentent an orde may be established, and a certeynty known, aswell of the charge, as of the seruice of euery parishes and townships, from hensfurthe, within your seuerall dyuysions, to avoyde opynion of abuse by officers, and murmuring of the people, which I wolde healpe to avoyde by all the best meanes I can devise: I haue thought it a good corse to conferre with some of you how the same may be best don, and therefore pray you to conferre together about this mater, that ii of yow may comme hither to me vpon . . . next comming; on which day I haue also prayed some lyke of Derbyshire to be also heere. At this your meeting you may together consider, what townships and parishes, within your seuerall dyuysions, doo ow any seruice in this behalf to this honor, which is to be consyderid apart. And so fare ye hartely well Tutbury, Febr.

No. XCII.

From the Queene's Majestie.

Your very loving Soverain ELIZABETH R.[1] BY THE QUEENE.

Trustie and right welbeloued counsellor, we greete you well. Being geuen t' vnderstand, how basely our howse of Tutburie was furnished at the tyme of the queene your charges repaire thither, and what wants there are there of things of necessarie vse for one of meaner quality than the said queene, we cannot but thinke our honnor greatlie touchid therein, and the partye to whom you committid the chardge and oversight thereof, worthy of seuere punishment: and although we haue geuen order for the present supplie of those wants, yet are we ashamid that such as weare put in truste with the matter, should be found so voyde of judgement, and so careles of our honnor, as to geue so great advantage to this that looke curiouslie into our doings, to fynd faulte vppon so iust cause. And therfore our meaning is, that the said parties that haue so offendid, shall receaue punishment answerable to their deserts. And whereas you haue ben a longe suitor vnto vs, not without iust cause, to be dischargid of the burthen you now susteine, thoughe vnfit for your yeres, yet most fit for a man of your approuid fidelity, we haue not ben vnmindfull therof. And although yt haue ben differrid for some speeyall causes, yet haue we at length taken suche full resolucion therein, as you shall verie speedilie be at liberty to make your repaire vnto vs, which, as we know that you do most earnestlie desier, so shall we be most glad at the tyme of your accesse vnto vs to make our good acceptacion appeare vnto you, of your most paindull and faithfull seruice performid in this late chardge. Geuen under

[1] These words are in the queen's own writing.

our signet at Somersethowse, the xviii of Februarie, in the xxviith yere of our raigne.

We pray you not to forget to imparte theis our thankes also vnto our servaunt Sommer.

No. XCIII.

Sir Ralph Sadleir *to Mr Secretarie.*

Sir,

The 21 of this present I receauid a packet from yow, and therin one to this queene from the French ambassador, which I sent to her furthwith. The same day, towards night, I receavid an other of that date, containing a lettre from her majestie to this queene, and the copy, and one from her H. and another from yow to me. I forbare to deliuer it to this lady vntill the next day, because I hearde she was in great payne by her olde grefs, and also muche trobled in mynde for the late departure of her olde seruant, an old Mrs Rallay, of almost iiii^{xx} (80) yeres, buryed heere that daye. After she had read out her majesties lettres, she said the first part of them was very comfortable, full of gracious woords to her contentment; fynding therin her majesties awne naturall good disposition towards her, agreeing to Naus report. But for ii other points she was greatly perplexid: thone, that her son shulde make suche an answer to her majestie with his awne hand, as is conteynid in her H. lettre, confirming Grayes assertion directly, that her son neuer assentid to any association; and having (with other lyke) wrought him to their wills, had causid him wryte Grayes awne woords, which he had formerly vsed to her majestie, which wer otherwyse then he had at that tyme signifyed to Nau, (who vouchid there the French ambassador for a witnes) that Gray, in his negotiations with her majestie, neyther disavowed nor yet approvid that association betweene

this Q. and her son. Thother point wherwith she was perplexid, is, that, in case (notwithstanding her majesties aduertisment in that her lettre) she will determyn to send one of hers to her son, her majestie wilbe content to doo therin as her H. shall see to be best for this Q. and for him. To this she desyrith very earnestly that she herself, by some of hers, may deale with him; a thing, she saith, most naturall, knowing best what is best for him, and how to deale with him, to bring him to joyne with her to be at her majesties devotion, as she hath protested to doo, if she may sende to him in tyme; which to doo, as she wold haue him, he cannot deny his bond by his awne lettres to her, wherof she sent one to Nau to shew to her majestie, vouching still his subscription to the association, and lamented muche that Nau coulde not be suffrid to speake with Gray in the presence of the counsell, where (Nau said) he wolde haue dryven him to speake otherwise of that matter then he had done to her majestie. She wolde wryte to her majestie her mynde at good lengthe. To these things, I, knowing nothing therof in substance, cowde make her none other then ordinary answer, with advise to comfort herself (taking it very heavily) with her majesties favor, wherof I doubtid not but she shulde in tyme see some good effect, vnles she wolde geue occasion of the contrary. Vnto this howre she hath a hard opinion of the sending of her lettres safely to her son, because she hearith not from her majestie or yow by whom they wer caryed, nor hath any answer from him to her, as specially requirid and willid him by thauthorite the mother hath ouer her son. To the last point of her majesties lettre of the Q. dowbt and feare of my successor in this charge, being still very inquisitif who it shalbe, for (as I haue oft said) she fearith euery change, being perswadid that she hath many dangerous enemyes in Englande, in the hands of whome, or of suche as depende vpon them, she thinkith she cannot be saf, she wolde gladly haue vnderstoode his name, which her majestie doth not expres, but onely a parson not to be doubtid for his integrite. And surely, Sir, to remoue some jalosyes wherof she is very apprehensyf, if

it wolde please her majestie to name him vnto her by some lettre of her H. to comme hither before (though it be sent about the tyme of his setting forwarde, which I perceaue by your other lettre he promisith her majestie shalbe on Monday the first of Marche), and to be heere iii or iiii dayes before him, when he cannot be revoked or stayd vpon any exception, in myne opinion it wolde do good; and the more, if he be recommendid vnto her in some suche sort as Mr Somer hath lately writen to yow by his seruant, vpon some speeche passid betweene him and Nau, who had heard, perhaps from the French ambassador, that Sir Amyas Pavlet was namid. This I do recommend, as in myne opinion a thing very pertinent in this case, at this tyme. (Heere is to be addid a postscript of Mr Chancelors awne hand, al of complements.) 23 Febr. 1584.

No. XCIV.

Copy of Humfrey Bridges Lettre to Mr Nicolas Langford, of Langforde in Derbyshire, about the beginning of Febr. 1584.

Not omitting my duety towards your worship, but complayning of your towards me, how badly I haue ben dealt withall, not onely in promising me your helpe of preferment, but also a meane, by procuring Sir Thomas Kockayn his precept to bring me before him for a fellon, might it haue pleasid your W. to afordid me your good report, my credit had ben advancid, albe it nothing impayred. For by how litle I haue offendid her majesties lawes, by so muche the lesse I care or crave your healpe. But if these be the benefits of sweet words, I will lesse norishe myself with suche flattering frends. But if it wolde please yow to call to remembrance your promes, I shulde haue receavid a better guerdon, when your occasion was to hane vsed me into Scotland withall, if I wolde haue ben caryed away from yow, I was promisid not so lytle as xx merkes for the removing of Gray, when he

came to yow, besyds good preferment for myself, which would haue savid me twice xx merkes. But I had more regard of my duety then yow of *your safty*. And do you think that all degrees be set downe to your will, and that you shall never haue occasion to vse your poore wellwillers agayn? And if you will not forget what yow wold haue had me to haue *practisid*, it doth merit good. And albeit yow litle deserue so muche seruice, yet me gyve yow a caveat *to beware* of your man *Rouland*, how yow make him to much acquaintid with *your lettres*. I wolde to God it had ben my good hap to haue ben at Waltons when your *short sworde* came thither; you shulde not haue neede to cause that villain your man to haue loked vnder the bed, thinking I had ben there. I pray God yow vse not Walton as yow vsed Bradstrete before him. All the speeches that I passid to Goodale your man, Rowland your man tolde me of them; and how that you receavid *lettres* from the *queene*, and that yow shulde be made a *duke*. Where you complaynid to the justices of me, all was vntrew that yow tolde them; for whosoeuer tolde yow that I brought a horse into your grownd is a villayn, and lyethe falsely. But the justices know your bloody mynde well inough; for if yow be angry with a man, yow wolde haue him killid or hangid streightways. What yow tolde Mr Rawley's man, I wolde yow and I wer in place where we might answer the one the other. Mr Rawleys mans comming downe, was but to spye your house and your lyving, what it was. I shall wryte as fast to the justices of yow as yow did of me, that they may vnderstande what yow ar. At my comming from London, I will make your *towre* better searchid then ever it was. And so I cease, prayeng God to make yow a new man.

By me, Humfrey Bridges.

Directed to the right worshipful Nicholas Langforde, esquier, at Langforde, with speede. [*He caused this to be written, for he cannot wryte.*]

No. XCV.

The Examinacion of Humfrey Bridges toching Nicolas Langforde, 24 Febr. 1804. *Copy. Thoriginalls sent vp* primo Martii.

24 Febr. 1584, at Tutbury. The sayengs of Humfrey Bridges to Sir Rafe Sadleir, knight, vpon the points of a lettre, which the said Humfrey causid to be written to Nicolas Langford, of Langford, in the county of Derby, esquier, about the beginning of Febrary aforsaid.

The cause why he wrote that lettre was, that the said Humfrey Bridges, hauing seruid the said Mr Langford about ii yeres, and sent for to comme to serue him, promising him a good recompence, and fynding no suche thing, but the likelihoode of the contrary, after he had spent his substance in vayne with him, he wrote that lettre in cholere against him; and namely, because Mr Langford charged him with horsestealing.

To the first materiall point, *for the removing of Gray*, being demaunded what he ment by that, he said, that one John Ball, brother to Thomas Ball, baylif of the hundreds about Derby, came to this Bridges, and said there wolde be as good as xx marks gyven to any that wolde healpe to take Gray, a masse priest. Whervnto he answerid, that he knew nothing of Gray where he was. In this his concealment consisted Mr Langfords safty; for Bridges knew that Gray hauntid Mr Langfords house.

To the thurd point, viz. what Mr Langford wolde haue had Bridges to haue practised, it dothe merite good;

He saith, the meaning therof is, that when the said Mr Langford, (being then Bridges Mr,) shulde haue sett furthe two horsmen for the Q. majesties seruice towards Scotland, about two yeres now past, this man to be one, the said Mr Langford bade this man perswade as many

Englishmen as he cowlde to turne to the king of Scotts, if they went into Scotlande; because (said he) he thought that to be the stronger, and the faithfuller syde, for the king of Spayne wolde send thither to ayde the K. of Scotts.

To the iiiith point, that Mr Langforde shuld beware of his man Rowland, how he made him to much acquaintid with his lettres;

He saith his meaning therby is this: that one day, he seing Rowland goo through the hall with a litle lettre in his hande, about half a yere agoe or somewhat more, asked Rowland from whome that lettre came, who answerid from the best in Englande. Therto this Bridges said, belyke it is from the Q. majestie. Rowland, going away smyling, said, it was no matter for that.

To the vth, where he speakith of a short sworde, and was sought vnder a bed;

He saith, that he meanith nothing by that, but of vnkindnes and harde speeches which Mr Langforde had gyven out of him.

To the vith, for the vsage of Walton, as he had vsed Bradbent, &c.;

He meanith therby, that Mr Langford had taken away some of Bradbents lyving, and so might vse Walton.

To the vii and 8, of speeches to Goodale; Rowland told this Bridges of them, and how Mr Langford receavid lettres from the queene, and that she wold make him a duke, &c.

The meaning therof is, he saith, the last somer, one Anne Tailor, then in Mr Langfords house, not as a seruant, but to hyde her there for religion, (whither she went for apparence, and was detectid and stayd by a mynister,) as she came out of the parlor, seing this Bridges, askid him, whether he wolde not turne yet? (meaning religion.) He answerid, that he wolde not turne to her religion whilest he lived. She said he was the more foole, for the king of Spayne, quod she, wolde shortly sende great forces first into Scotlande, and mary his daughter to the K. of Scotts; and then wolde come into England, and wolde restore the Scottish Q. to her right to the crowne of Englande; and said,

it wolde be shortly, were it not for that bloody erle of Leicester. He askid, why did she terme him so? She answerid, because he had caused Arden and Somerfeld to be put to deathe, because he wolde have their lyvings. Then he asked her, how knew she so muche? She answerid, that the Scottish Q. had written to Mr Langforde, that he shulde sticke to his religion, and she wolde make him a duke, and make Robert Gray archbishop of Canterbury. This Gray, he saith, hath ben somtyme Mr Langfords tutor, and yet is a massing priest, and resortith to him, and rydith lyke a serving man, as dyvers other like priests vse to doo, as one Clerk, Blackborne, Francis, and other, whome he knowith not so well. He knowith not where they do vsually stay, but haunt pryvily to mens houses, emong other to Mr Bentley, seruant, as he thinkith, to my L. Windesore, and dwellith nere vnto Eveley, in Derbyshire.

To the ix^th^, where this Bridges saith, that at his comming from London, he will make Mr Langfords towre better searchid then ever it was:

Therby, he saith, is meant, that in that towre, being a place of lodgings, the saide priests vse to meete to lodge there, and haue ben kept secret there, and dayly servid there of meat and drink, and other necessaryes, by Denys Lathe and Nicolas Elcock, Mr Langfords housholde seruants.

Being demaundid, why he did not disclose these matters to some person of credit, or to some justice of peace, or to some of her majesties privy counsell?

He answerith, that he knew not what to doo in such maters, but having consyderid more of these maters of late, meant to goo to the court to haue vttrid it to some of her majesties counsell, but that he had no money to beare his charges.

No. XCVI.

To Mr. Secretarie, about the last of February, 1584.

Right Honorable,

Your packet of the xxvith of Febr. was brought hither the xxviiith, and therwith an other to the Scottish Q. from the Frenche ambassador, which I delyuerid furthwith, fynding her wryting to the queenes majestie and to others, (as Nau told me) as she hath ben doing these 4 or 5 dayes, soone weryed at a tyme. Vpon suche occasion of lettres, she oft (but Nau more) is very desyrous to know of another governors coming, when and who; wherof she hath some aduertisment, perhaps from the French ambassador. But nothing is told her heere of certeynty who it be specially, whereat she is not well satisfyed. Therfore such a lettre as you write of now, from her majestie, naming him, gyving her assurance of him, and that he dependith onely on her H., will gyve her moche more contentment, than that he shuld comme vpon a sodayne, or vnadvertisid before, considering the late good tearmes which haue passid betweene her majestie and her.

She longith lykewise very muche to hear, and therof Nau speakith oft and earnestly to me, of her majesties consent and allowance for an increas of her escuyrie, to haue the full of xvi horses at her majesties charges, having now but vi, so as the thing which (besyds the two speciall points, viz. the treaty with her majestie, and to send to her son, and to receaue his awn answer to her lettres,) she most desyrithe, and will accept as a thankfull favor of her majestie. [The reason of her desyre to haue so many is, to be the better accompanyed with her gentlewemen and gentlemen when she may ride abrode to take the ayre on horsback, ryding sildome in her coche when the weather is calme.'] I haue in answer alleaged the weke state of her body, the

' The sentence inclosed in crotchets is delete in the original.

coldnes of the tyme, the fowle wayes heerabout, the charges to buye so many horses meete for her purpose, the charges incident therto, besyds the groomes wages to be payd by her, and that vpon occasion she may haue of the governors. But all will not serue, and therfore I haue referrid for the answer of her majesties pleasure, to be signifyed by the successor, together with the establishment for her housholde. The charges of x horses more, will not be aboue iiii' iiii^{d} *per diem*, and they for all the somer may be abrode at grasse. They haue already iii groomes, and with so many horses desyre but one mo, all in their awn wages. They can aleage that the more part of those horses shall go to grasse all the somer.

Almighty God be praisid and thanked for ever for the discouery of such a most detestable intention, as that wretchid ipocrit, dissolut Parry, had in his hart. A fit grownde to receaue such frute, as suche husbandmen wickidly sow. But thorough our mercifull Gods goodnes, both the thorny grownd, the cockely seede, the popish poppy, and vnseasonable labor perishe worthely together. Amen, for his mercies sake, to all suche husbandry !

The Frenche ambassador hath written hither by his last depeche, as Nau saythe, that the Q. majestie hath grauntid the voyage of Scotlande for Nau. But he tellith me, if that be her majesties pleasure, this Q. will send Mr Curle thither, a Scotchman, one of her secretaryes, aquaintid with all her affayrs syns her comming into this realme. He is nothing so quick spirited nor so ready as Nau is, but hath a shrewd melancholy witt. She makith great accompt of him as very secret and sure to her. This man shall goo lightlyer in post, with small shew, and not with such parado, as the other wold do, for his reputacion, example his costly voyage to the Q. majestie. She cannot so spare Nau for her French affaires, happening oft.

No. XCVII.

Sir RALPH SADLER *to Mr Secretarie.*

SIR,

I haue receiued your lettres of the 22d of this Febr. by Mr Dorrell, the 25 of the same, by the which I vnderstande that Sir Amyas Paulet intendeth to kepe his day hitherwards, who shall no soner come, then he shalbe most hartely welcom to me, trusting shortly after to see you, and to give you thanks for your good remembraunce of me in that behalf.

So it is, sir, that one . . Briggs, late seruaunt to Nicolas Langforde, esquier, being departed from the same Langforde in som displeasure, for that, as he sayeth, he was very ill vsed at his hande, did thervpon wryte a lettre to the saide Langforde, conteyning very ill matier against him, whether of malice, or for that it is trew, God knoweth; but Mr Langforde, after the receipt of the lettre, wherein he did wysely, shewed the lettre to Mr Humfrey Ferrers, esquier, a iustice of peax in this countrey, desiring, as he sayth, that I might see it, and vse the matier for the examinacioun of the said Briggs therevpon, after my discression. Wherevpon Mr Ferrers, having at the same time the said Briggs in his custodie, for that he was suspected of felonye, brought him to me, and the lettre also; and Mr Langford himself cam, in lyk wise, into the towne here with Mr Ferrers, to speke with me, if I so wolde. But Mr Somer and I, having redde the lettre and considered it, and vppon the speciall poynts thereof, examyned the saide Briggs, who semid then to be sory that he had so touchid the saide Mr Langforde, and in dede denyed that any such matier was meant to be wrytten by him, but that because, as he sayeth, he can neither wryte nor reade himself, he had procured a frende of his to write that

lettre in his name, who wrote that matier without his consent or knowledge I thought best, therefore, because he denyed the substance of the matier, to let Mr Langforde go without speaking with him, and committid the said Briggs agayn to Mr Ferrers, to vse him as a suspect person, according to the law. But afterwards the same Briggs, being then committed to the constable of this towne by Mr Ferrers, to be caryed to the gaole vpon suspition of felonye, desyred the same constable, after Mr Ferrers was gon home, to bring him to me to thende he might speke with me agayn; wherof the constable came and informid me and I thereupon caused him to be brought vnto me. At his comyng to me he then affirmed all that he had wrytten in his saide lettre to the saide Mr Langforde; and being newly examyned by Mr Somer and me vpon the speciall poynts of his saide lettre, he hath disclosed and confessed such matier as is set downe in wryting, signed with his mark by his owne hande, which you shall receyue herewith, and his said lettre also. I did vse all the meanes and persuasions I colde, and so did Mr Somers also, to move and persuade the said Briggs to say nothing vpon malice or other respect then for the trouthes sake; and he constantly affirmed that he had sayed nothing but treuth, and that if he were to dye presently, he wolde take it on his deth, that it was most trew that he had sayed, and doubtid not but if those which he had touchid in his confession were apprehended, and well examyned, they wolde not denye that wherewith he charged them. Whervpon I thought best to deteyne him here, where he is and shalbe closely kept in the porters warde, vntill I may knowe what is thought best there to be don further in this matier. I nede not tell you what an obstynate papist Mr Langforde is, and Sir Tho. Gerarde as ill as he, which both do lurke here in their houses, the furthest not past iiii myles from this castell. Neyther of them, both their wyves nor famylies, com to the church, ne yet haue our comon prayers and seruice sayed in their houses; but nurisne certen massing priests, which do haunte their houses, where it is thought they have their masses secretely, but so closely

and conyngly vsed, as it wilbe hard to take them with the maner. Thes surely be dangerous persons, if they had power according to their will, and therfore wolde be loked vnto. I wold to God there were no mo in this country, where I here of very few good. It semeth that the bishop of this dioces is not so diligent and carefull of his charge as he ought to be, and therfore wolde be quyckened and admonysshed from her majestie to loke better to his flocke, so as they may be inducid to com to the churche according to the law, or ells that they may fele the smarte of the same; which I leave to the good consideracion of her majestie and of her grave counsellors, to whom it shall please her H. to commytte the same. And so, &c. Tutbury, *vltim. Febr.* 1584.

No. XCVIII.

Sir Ralph Sadleir *to my L. Thresorer.*

Please it your L. Your lettres of the xxi^ti^ of this Febr. I receyuid the xxv of the same by Mr Darrell, and for answere, first I do most humblie and hartely thanke your L. for your most frendly helpe and solicitation of my deliueraunce from this charge, being now in hope very shortly to see your L., and to give you thanks agayn for the same by woorde of mouth. And where as your L. wryteth that her majestie is moche offended with the charges here, and namely with the charges of the stable, wherof her majestie willed me your L. to wryte to me, I wolde to God it lay in me to abate the charges according to her majesties pleasure, which then shulde not be long vndon; but for the charges of the stable, indede I have here vi horses, xxxii geldings, and iiii naggs, and euer syns my comyng from home I haue, in maner, borne the hole charges of them all myself, vntill now syns my comyng hither, syns which tyme in dede her majestie hath borne the charge; but for all the tyme before, both at Sheffelde and at Wingfeld, I did

bere the charge of them all, except of xii horses and geldings, which my L. of Shrewesbury allowid vnto me in his stable, for the space of one moneth or litle more; and then, his officers alledging that his provision and store of hay and provender was spent, as indede it was, I had leaue, having only stable rowme, to bye hay, otes, and straw to, as I coulde gette it in the countrey, at the derest: so that, for iiii monethes and more, I haue borne the hole charge of my sayde nombre of horses, and sometymes of mo, as occasion hath ben given, wherof at my retorne I will make a iust and trew accompte, trusting to haue som reasonable allowance of the same, and other charges, as of posts layd at Wingfelde and Mannsfelde to Newarke, and now here and at Lughboroug to Wytham, being the next post to Stamforde, the charges wherof I have borne hitherto, after the rate of iii^{s} iiii^{d}. by the day, ever syns I cam to Wingfelde; with such other charges as I haue susteyned in this seruice, towards the which, neyther afore nor syns my comyng from home, I haue receyuid one peny of her majestie. Also where your L desireth to knowe whether Mr Digby and Mr Ferrers haue sent the hangings, which they bought of the L. Pagets, Mr Ferrers hath sent hither viii peces, being all that he bought, and had his money agayn of Mr Gresly, which ar very meane and course stuffe, mete to serve rather for coverletts to livery bedds, then to be vsed for hangings But Mr Digby hath sent none hither, ne yet do I knowe what he will do. Now how many peces shalbe nedefull to be sent hither for this queene, Mr Somer and I have heretofore sent your L. a note of the depth and compas of her chamber, wherby your L. may ghesse how many peces wolde suffise to furnisshe the same; as now your L. shall receyue another note herewith to lyke effecte. And so I ende, beseching the L. Almightie to kepe your L. in helth, and to increase you in honor and virtue. Tutbury, *vltim. Febr.* 1584.

No. XCIX.

Mr Somer *to my L. Threasorer.*

Right honorable my very good L. Heerwith goith vnto yow an other note of the depth and compas of the Scottish queenes chambre heere, for the juster appointing of hangings for it, and of other things which may be very well bestowed heere. And, emong the rest, sheetes and pillowberes for herself ar very specially recommendid as very needfull. This Q. dothe oft expostulate with Nau, in that (she saythe) brought her litle other than words, for hitherto she can see small effects; and thinkith moche that the increas of her escuyrie to make vp xvi horses of her awne, at her majesties charges, is not grauntid her, seing Nau gave her suche assurance therof. She hath now vi fownde her. And that, next to the two principall points, (viz. to procede to a treaty with her majestie, and to send one of hers to her son, to know the long or the short of his intention,) she estymith most of this; my answers, the weake state of her body, the colde wether, the fowle ways, the charges incident, the groomes wages, that she may borow of the successor, when she wolde take the ayre. But all will not serve; I am assalted euery day by Nau and Curle. Fynally, I haue referred other answer to the successor, with the establishment of her household.

She cannot be satisfyed in mynde, in that she takith no certein knowledge from Mr Chancelor, but specially from her majestie, of the name of the successor in this charge, wherof she hath advise I think from the Fr. ambassador. Her majestie wrote lately to her that it shulde be a person not to be doubted for his integrite. I wrote lately to Mr Secretarie of her mislyke and jalosye therof, who hath answerid now that her majestie meanith to wryte agayne to her of him. If it

wolde please her majestie to sende such a lettre before his comming, and to name him, assuring her that he dependith vpon none, but on her majestie, (for therof she is marvelous suspicious,) [and will gyve her worde for him, to healpe his qualite, being no baron, though of her privy counsell, wheron she harpith muche,[1]] it may perhaps make him the better welcome to her, serve to good purpose, namely at this tyme, when all good is expectid. Vpon Mr Dorrells coming hither, we haue conferrid agayne with this Q. officers, about the note for the establishment of her howsholde allowance, vpon the booke which he brought downe; which being somwhat short in somthings of their demaunds, they shewing some mislyke (though modestly, as Melvill vsith it well) that suche small things in mater of dyet shulde be stand vpon, is holpen somwhat in the booke sent now, to their lyking, if it may be establishid in that sort, which is as neere (they say) as may be. And surely, my L., that litle will gyve contentment, and thabatement (in this tyme) may more offend, then a greater matter ought to doo.

Heere is also a note sent ones more of the L. Pagets commodities, neere and helpfull to this place, if it may please her majestie to graunt that vse of them to this charge, and withall to gyve authorite to the governor heere to bargayn with tennants for corne and haye, to be delyuerid heere at most profitable rates. And therof that notice be gyven from her majestie, or your L., to his officers for their discharge, and in lyke sort for the woods.

Her houshold charges and stable, comprehending therin lyghts, sawces, frute, and some other small curtoisyes in honor vpon neede, cannot exceede vl. *per diem*, (xviii^{c} xxv l. *per annum*,) as by an estimat sent vp now by Mr Dorrell and Mr Cave, even as it is requyred, saving for the stable, may appeere to your L. Heerin wood is not mentionid, for the wood being the Q. majesties, she payeth onely for the making, iiii a lode, and caryage, at her ii the mile. The

[1] This is deleted again in the original.

contrey heerabout being compowndid withall, for this yeres caryage of wood, (i mile,) and cole, (2 miles,) which will stande the contrey in cciiiil. (Derby, 90l., Stafford, 90l., Leicester, 24l.,) and to the Q. not xxxl.[1])

There will be some extraordinary charges, as sendings, repayrings, glasing, altering, vtensyls wanting, and other small things vnseene.

I haue learnid, that if this Q. get leaue to sende into Scotlande, she will sende her secretarie Curle, a Scottishman, who, gooing well instructid and pryvie to all her doings syns her first comming into Englande, she thinkith shalbe capable inough of that charge; for she cannot so well spare Nau, for the French cawses.

Thembassador hath put her in comfort by his late lettres to her, that that voyage is grauntid her by her majestie, and wrytith of Nau to make it, as he hath tolde me himselfe. And so, lothe to troble your L. so much, with the remembrance of my duety, I recommend your L. and vs all to the Almighty. From Tutbury, the first of March, 1584. Your good L. humbly at commandment,

JOHN SOMER.

No. C.

A Note of Humfrey Bridge, dated the xviii of Marche.

He sayeth that one Rowland, waytyng Mr Langford chamber, beyng pwtt to hym by a mass preest, and the sayd Rowland helpyng dayly to say mass in his howse; morover he saythe, it was synce the

[1] In the margin, "400 lodes cole, at iiiid. £6. 13. 4.—2000 lodes wood, at iid. £16. 13. 4."

same Rowland cam thether, abowt three yeres past, as he remembreth.

He sayeth further, that one Harry Woodfont, servyng Mr Basset at Castram, hard by Ashborn, the said Woodfont beyng fallen owt with Mr Langford, told hym, he wowld to London to complayne to the cownsell, and imedyatly went to London. Mr Langford, vnderstondyng the sayd Woodfont gon, dowted he wowld, Greaveall, Campyons, and ther wyves beyng there, and sent Nicolas Langford presently with a letter to Mr Basset, and so stayed the sayd Woodfont, and ended the matter, and was made frendes.

He sayth more, that one Georg Bwll, dwellyng at Draycott, beyng a caryer of wood, and swch other lyk bwsnes, to the prestes chambers, thynketh yf he wer examyned, wowld declare more of theyr doyngs than he the sayd examynat can at this tyme remember.

He sayeth also, that one Greene, a kynsman of Greenes, which dwelleth at Rolsson park, comyng to Mr Langfords howse, thys examynat sayeth, he met hym vpon the brydg, demawnding what he wowld hav, for at that tyme he served Mr Langford: thys sayd Greene answerd, he cam from my lord Padyat and Mr Feeharbart, and was to talk with Mr Langford secretly. Whyles they wer talkyng, cam one Blondell, who serveth Mr Langford, kepeth howse at the town, and took from hym thys examynat to his howse, and thys examynat, havyng bwsynes, went his way, and knew not what becam of hym.

No. CI.

Interrogatories for Rowland Kychen, Mr. Langfords Seruant. They war mynistred to him; he denyed all the principall points. His finall answer was, that he must not answer to any mater of religion to hurt of himself and many other Catholiks. Marche, 1584.

Interrogatories to be ministrid to Rowland Kychin, seruant to Nicolas Langford, of Langford, gent. Stafford, *Martii,* 1584.

1. Whether he doth know Humfrey Bridges? How long he hath knowne him, and where?

2. Whether dothe he remember the tyme that Mr Nicolas Langforde shulde haue sett furthe ii horsmen towards Scotland, and whom did he meane to sett furthe? And what charge did Mr Langford gyve to them, or to either of them, if they went into Scotlande? or what words did Mr Langford vse to them, or to either of them, otherwise?

3. What lettre was it that he caryed in his hande one day, when the said Humfrey Bridges asked him, what lettre it was, as he met him in the hall?

4. Whom meant he, when he answerid to Bridges, that that lettre was from the best in Englande? Of whom did he receaue that lettre, and what did he with it, and what doth he know the contents of that lettre?

5. What speeches did there passe betweene him and one Goodale, Mr Langfords man, and namely, that Mr Langforde had receavid lettres from the queene, and that he shulde be made a duke? What queene he meant therby, and how did he know or heard that he shuld be made a duke, and by whome?

6. Whether dothe he know one Anne Tailer? What is she? and for what occasion did she remayne at Mr Langfords?

7. What communication hath he had at any tyme with the said Anne Tailer, toching this mater of that lettre, or of the queene, and what queene, or a duke, or of the coming of any forces from the K. of Spayne to healpe the K. of Scots?

8. Whether hath he hearde the said Anne Tayler, or any other, say that the K. of Spayne meant to mary one of his daughters to the K. of Scotts, and then wolde sende forces into Englande, to restore the Scotishe Q. to her right to the crowne of England?

9. Whether dothe he knowe, or hath knowne, one Gray, a preest, and where hathe he knowne him?

10. Whether hath he heard of any body, that Gray shulde be made a busshop, and by whome? And of whome hearde he it sayde so?

11. Whether doth he knone one Clerk, Blackborne, or Francis, prests, and where hath he knowne them? What did they, or the said Gray, when they came to the place where he knew them?

12. Whether doth he, and the rest of Mr Langfords housholde, resort duely to the church, to common prayers, and to sermons, namely, on the sondayes?

No. CII.

From Ry. Bagot, Justice of Peace, to the Constables of his Division, toching the new Composition for Caryages.

By lettres of request from Sir Raphe Sadleir, knight, directed to me and other her majesties justices of peace, vidz. Sir Thomas Cockayne, knight, James Abney and Nicolas Browne, esquiers, justices of the countie of Derbie; and Mr Ferrers, Mr Trentham, and myselfe, for Stafford, repaired thether to the castle of Tutbury, on Saterday last,

the xx^th^ of this instant, where a proporcione for the charge required for cariges was set downe and assented vnto by vs, as well for the ease of the hole countrey, as to avoyd the great cariges and inconvenient that might ensue, yf it should be vsed in such order as heretofore hath binne.

Imprimis, for the cariges of iii^c^ lxv loades of charcoles, euerye loade rated at iii^s^. iiii^d^. amonteth too lx^l^. xvi^s^. viii^d^.

The cariage of xiiii^c^. loads of wood, euery load rated to xvi^d^. and the queenes allowance, in all . . . iiii^xx^xiii^l^. vi^s^. viii^d^.

Towardes the furniture of the soldiers there, nowe garding the queene of Scotts . . . . . xxv^l^.

c. iiii^xx^l. iii^s^. iiii^d^.

Whereof, Com^t^. Darbei . . . iiii^xx^x^l^.
Com^t^. Stafford.. . . iiii^xx^x^l^. one whole yeares charge.

Unde:
Hundr. de Birepill . xxii^l^. x^s^.
Hundr. de Offelowe . xxii^l^. x^s^.
Cutleston . . . . . xv^l^.
Seasdon . . . . . xv^l^.
Tatmanslowe . . . xv^l^.

Yf it happen anye more cariges for timber, stone, brike, lime, and plaster, for the necessarie reparacions of the castle, Mr Chancellor hath appoynted only the queenes tenants within that honor to make that supplie, and none others of the countrey to be troubled therwith.

The money must be paid quarterly, and some in present, to them that have taken the charge in hand: yf the queene beremoved, our payments to cease, and at this yeres ende to be at our choise for composition. Yf any money hath binne levyed towards the furniture of the soldiers ther, by warrant from Mr Chancelor granted, as I knowe there is, I require you to vnderstand of the constables in your divi-

sions, when he shall come before you to pay money for provisione of her majesties houshold, what the sommes be, and to advertise me of it, and it shalbe ether set one, or els repayed. Ther is money in my hands to dischardge it, and some to spare, yf the rest of the justices will thervnto assent. So willinge you both to take payns herein, that we may be advertised at the assise, where, by Gods grace, we shall meet, do, with harty commendacions, bid you farewell. At Blythfeld, this present Ashewednesday. Your loving frend,

RIC. BAGOTT.

To my vere loving frends, Hugh Foden and Thomas Corbett, high constables of the hundred of Byrepill.

No. CIII.

From Mr Edw. Stanhope, per Mr Dauet, toching Anne Tailer and her Examinacion.

Vpon receipt of your honors lettres, I presentlie sent for the sheriffe of the towne of Nottingham, in whose custody Anne Tayler remayneth, and imparted vnto him in generalitie the occasion of my speache to deale with her. He brought me, with my cosen Dauett, to the parlor, where she remayneth with him; with whome, after long perswasions had to vtter a truthe, which might procure her favour, in the case she standeth, then to endanger herselfe by denyenge that which otherwise woulde be proved, we tired her with questions touching the same matter, wherof your honor appointed me to examine her in circumstaunces; but by no meanes she would confesse any thing; wherfore dealing with her to aunsweare theis particuler points following:

First, being examined, when she was at Mr Langfords, and how long she remayned there? she aunswered, that she came from thens about

Corpus Christi (as she called it) even last, and had then remayned there about three monethes.

Item, being asked, whether she ever moved Humfrey Bridges in Mr Langfords house, or els where, if he would revolt from his religion, and turne to hers? she aunswered, no; but that it might be, she had moved him to amend his life, and serve God.

Item, whether she had ever told him, that there was like to be a matche betwixt the Spanishe kings daughter and the young Scottishe king, wherby the king of Spaine would aide the Scottishe quene, in restoring her to her right in Englande, or any words to that effecte? she vtterlie denyeth any suche wordes had by her with him, or any other.

Item, whether she had any speache with him concerning any the lordes of her majesties privy councell of Arden and Somerfields death, or any mater to that effect? she wholy denieth the same.

Item, whether she hath had any conferens with the saide Bridges, or any other, touching any lettres that should be sent to Mr Langford, from any great estate, and in thend we named from the Scottishe queene, promising advauncement to Mr Langford, Robert Gray, or any other? She absolutely denyed the knowledge of any suche lettre, saving that she saieth, about a moneth past, one Pudsey, servaunt to Sir Frauncis Willoughby, did report at the same sheriffs bord, where she dined, that Bridges, that had served Mr Langford, had accused Mr Langford for receiving lettres from the Scottish queene, written at her last being at Derby; and more concerning that matter she hath not hard, saving that she hard also that Mr Langford himselfe had caused him to be apprehended.

This is all we can learne of her. The woman is knowen to be a notorious papist, so farre gone as she remayneth in durauns for absenting herselfe from the churche. And how farr those people haue liberte, as they thinke, to denye, sweare, and forsweare any thing that may charge those of their faction, I am sory to heare.

More haue I not to trouble your honor with at this presente, but am sory that my service herin willinglie imployed, can drawe no more matter out of hier, whome I haue no opinyon to be well bent in respect of her irreligion and other obstinacies hertofore shewed in that behalfe. And so I humblie cease to trouble your honor. From Nottingham, this xx[d] of Merche, 1584. Your honors humble to command,

E. Stanhope.

No. CIV.

Suche Constables as haue payde towards the Furniture of some Soldyors at Tutbury, in the Hundred of Offlowe. Suche as wer charged with Caryages to the said Castell, are excused. xxvii Marche, 1584.

Staffordshire.

Wedfelde	iii[s]. iiii[d].	Herborne and Smethewicke . .	iiii[s].
Willnall	iii[s]. iiii[d].		
Darlaston and Bentlye	iii[s]. iiii[d].	Hanseworthe . . .	vi[s].
Bast and Alderidge .	iiii[s].	Wallsall Feren . . .	v[s].
Pellsall	ii[s].	Shenstone	iiii[s]. viii[d].
Norton and Wirtye . .	ii[s]. vi[d].	Dreaton Basset . .	iiii[s].
Wallsall	v[s].	Weifford and Chickbrome	iii[s].
Tipton	ii[s].	Frefforde	xx[d].
Rushall and Gossette .	iii[s]. iiii[d].	Longdon	v[s].
Homeredge	ii[s].	Wedsburey	v[s].
Tamhorne	xvi[d].	Hansaker and Armytage	ii[s].
Horton	xii[d].	Tamworthe	iii[s].
Perybaw	vi[s].	Seyrescott	xviii[d].
Maveson Ridware . .	ii[s].	Hunts	iii[s].
Durborow and Elmehurste	xx[d].	Morfall and Stretthaye	xx[d].
Pype *cum membr.* .	iiii[s].	Packeinton	xviii[d].

Collected by me Homfrey Miners, heighe counstabell in the hundered of Offlowe.

No. CV.

Sir Ralph Sadleir *to Mr Secretarie, 22 Marche,* 1584.

Sir,

Whereas by your lettres of the iii of Marche, I vnderstande that her majestie is informed of the lyberte that is permytted vnto this Q. here to go abrode a hawking vi or vii myles from this castell; or in sort, as your saide lettres do purporte, if it were trew in all parts as it is informed, as I will not denye that part which is trew, yet if it be not otherwise taken then I meant well in the doing, I am sure it cannot be interpreted to be any grete offence. The trewth is, that when I cam hither, fynding this contrey commodious, and mete for the sporte which I have alwayes delighted in, I sent home for my hawkes and faulconers, wherewith to passe this miserable lif which I leade here; and when they cam hither, I toke the comodyte of them somtymes here abrode, not farre from this castell; wherof this Q. hering, ernestly intreated me that she might go abrode with me to see my hawkes flie, a passetyme indede which she hethe singular delite in; and I, thinking that it coulde not be ill taken, assented vnto her desire, and so hath she ben abrode with me iii or iiii tymes hawking vpon the ryvers here, sometyme a myle, somtyme ii myles, but not past iii myles, when she was furtherst from this castell. And for her garde, when she was abrode, though I lefte the souldiors at hom with their halberds and harquebuts, because they be fotemen, and cannot well toyle on foote, the wayes here being fowle and depe, yet had I alwayes xl or l of myn owne seruants and others on horsebacke, and som with pistolls, which I knewe to be a sufficient garde agenst any attempte that can be made by any man here vppon the sodayn, for her escape, whereof, I assure you, I see no maner cause of feare so long as this countrey remayneth

in such quyetnes as it is now. But if it were otherwise, and that any such force might be vsed or attempted in that behalf, as her wellwillers wolde desire, it is not xx or xxx souldiours, with ther halbert and harquebuts, nor the small power that I haue here, ne yet the strength of this castell, which God knoweth is very weake, that coulde defende vs. And therfore, sir, I haue vsed my simple discression in graunting this Q. this lybertee, the rather for that she thinketh herself by meanes of such comfortable words and messages, as of late she receyued from her majestie by Naw, to stande now in better termes, and to be in better grace with her majestie then she hath ben heretofore, wherein I thought I did well; but syns it is not so well taken, I wolde to God som other had the charge, that wolde vse it with more discression then I can; for I assure you I am so wery of it, that if it were not more for that I wolde do nothing that shoulde offende hir majestie, then for feare of any punishement, I wolde come home, and yelde myself to be a prisoner in the tower all the dayes of my lif, rather then I wolde attende any longer here vpon this charge. And if I had knowen, when I cam from home, I shoulde have taried here so long, contrary to all promyses made vnto me, I wolde have refused, as others do, and have yelded to any ponishment, rather then I wolde have accepted this charge; for a greter ponyshment can not be mynistred vnto me, then to force me to remayne here in this sorte, being more mete now, in myn olde and later days, to rest at home, to prepare myself to leave and go out of the miseries and afflictions wherevnto we ar subiect in this lif, and to seke the euerlasting quyetnes of the lif to com, which the L. Almightie graunte vnto vs, when it shalbe his good pleasure! And if it might light on me tomorow, I wolde thinke myself most happye, for I assure you I am wery of this lif; and the rather for that I see that things well meant by me, are not so well taken. But now I trust her majestie will delyuer me of this burden, and ley it vpon one that can better bere it, and more wisely discharge it, though in duetie and good will therunto, I wil compare with all men.

No. CVI.

Sir R. SADLEIR *to my L. Thresorer.*

Please it your L. Your lettres of the 3 of this present, I receyved here this day in the mornyng, for the which I humblie thanke your L.; and although I haue not matier of moment to wryte vnto your L., yet having thoportunytie of so convenyent a messenger as Mr Dorrell is, I coulde not omytte to wryte, onely to render myn humble thankes vnto your L. for your carefull solicitacion of my delyueraunce from this charge, wherein I beseche your L. doun in the bowells of our Lorde Jhus Christe, to contynew your goodnes towards me, being now ouerwhelmed with care, sorowe and griefe, whervnto your L. knoweth that wayward age is alwayes subiect, being restrayned from the libertee accustomed, trusting that her majestie will have pitie and compassion vpon me, and now, in respect of my yeres, will delyuer me, according to her most gracious promise. I am sorie that her majestie mislyketh of the lybertee permytted to this Q. of late, in hawking vpon the ryver not farre from this castell, wherein I have not moche exceeded my commission, having alwayes ben well assured to answer the charge commytted vnto me; as indede I see no maner cause of feare of her foorth commyng, so long as this countrey remayneth in so good quyetnes as it is now. And if it wer otherwise, trewly neyther the small forces here, ne yet her restraynt within this castell, which is very weake, coulde helpe the matier. But that I have a determynacion, that howsoeuer things fall out, I will render such an accompt vnto her majestie of the charge, as there shalbe no case to impute any defaulte to me in that behalf, wherof I am, and wilbe no lesse carefull then of myn owne lyfe. And now for the tyme of my contynuance here, which I hope shalbe very shorte, I will do what I can to

kepe her more pryvately from intelligencies, which, I assure your L. is very harde to do, so many about her as she hath, both English, Frensh, and Scottish, as well men as women, which have so many errands and occasion to go aboute their necessary busynes, that all the souldeours here ar too few to attende vpon them, which neuertheles shalbe loked vnto, as well as Mr Somer and I can devise, whereof both he and I have ben and wilbe most carefull, according to our dueties.

This Q. heere semeth to mislyke moche of the answere which she last receyued by lettres from the Q. majestie; and now she standeth vpon advisement, whether she will sende any man of hers, according to her former request, to the K. her soon, wherein she sayeth she will shortlye wryte vnto her majestie of her resolucion. And thus, &c. Tutbury, 5 April, 1585.

No. CVII.

Mr Somer *to Mr Secretarie, April* 1585.

R. Ho. In answer to yours to me of the 26 of Marche, willing that care shuld be had to intercept lettres which are comming hither out of Scotlande, I wolde to God it wer in my power to perfourme as muche therin as I wish for her majesties seruice, and yet I will do what I can in that behalf. There may be many shiftes vsed to convey lettres to and fro this Q.; but in apparaunce the cocheman is the only dangerous man, though the Q. hath sworne to me deepely that she trustith him not in any such seruice. He followith altogether Curle, who hath the charge of her horses. He hath not ben at Sheffeld since we came hither, but if he had, or yet will ask leaue to go, it was and is meant to haue him searched. She said lately, and vouchid with an othe, that these v monethes past she receiued no wryting from Scotland, nor syns she entered into good tearmes with the Q. majestie, and hath ben

in hope of a treaty, she, to avoyd all occasions of mistrust, never wrote any thing thither privily, but was content to say, if the treaty with her majestie go not furth, she is not to be blamid if she seeke to haue intelligence with her frendes. But, as it is my duety, I will do what I can heerin. Toching a caryer of Sheffeld, there is none such; but it

Alsop, the caryer of Derby, that hath vsed to bring most their caryages from Curselles, both to Wingfeld and hither, which haue ben visited before they haue ben delyuerid, and so haue ben all the wrytings brought by him, being always open, and certeyn nothing ells theryn then memoryalls of the things, as also the lyke sent from hence to London. And as to searche him, or any other caryer, comming hither with things for her, in my poore opinion such caryer of Derby, for hether comith now none other, may be deposed, be some justice on the way, what things he caryeth for this Q., and then commandid to shew all, and searchid, if neede be. Being done out of the towne, and the messenger charged vpon his allegiance not to vtter it, it may perhaps be the better kept from her knowledge, though Nau be very curious to open the seales vpon boxes of things from the French ambassador, for such haue ben commonly sealid, but looked into for all that, and fynding that they haue [been] opened, will not hyde his mynde, but is as well answerid.

No. CVIII.

To the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.

My very good L. In answer of your lettres to me of the xiiiith of this moneth, which I received this day by the now vicar of this towne; if I had knowne so muche of your mynd in tyme, that your leasure from your godly exercises in your calling in those parts wolde haue permittid yow to haue come thus farre for so good a purpose as yow

wryte, I wolde very gladly haue furdered your good offer to preache publickly hereabout, with my request thervnto, and wolde haue ben right glaide to haue seene and hearde yow. For pryvat preaching, or conference with this Q., without warrant from her majestie, is forbidden. But now that I am vpon my departure, by Sir Amyas Pawlets comming hither tomorowe, I can returne yow nothing but my harty thanks for your offrid curtesye. Surely yow might and may, when it shall please yow, do much good in these countyes of Derby and Stafford, where I am informid, and partly assurid, by my long abode here in both these countyes, ar many papists of sundry sorts; the first, and they the greatest, obstinat and voluntary recusants to resort to the churches, and so failing of their duetyes towards God, can hardly be good subiects to her majestie, or true to this state; some, and they poore, ignorant, for lack of instruction by preaching, being not capable of that which is runne so lightly over by readyng, a conscience to starve willing solles for lack of spiritnall foode due to them by ther ordinary; other, fearfull to displease their landlords or Mrs, for worldly respects, by doing otherwyse then they doo, a lamentable going from God by the malice of the vngodly; and so haue some of them not let to say playnely, and with greef, to some persons of my company of good credit. Your L., and your watchfull ministers, may healpe muche of this, partly at your and their vysitacions, but much better by personally invising the places where those parsons and vnseemely churches, wherof I haue seene many, cannot be disguised so well. Remembring what weake persons the churche wardens and syde men commonly ar, lothe to offende their betters or neghbors, and so delyuer their presentments att your visitacions accordingly. Good, my L., gyve me leaue to desyre yow to looke abrode, for these ar dangerous countreys, and some other not far of, ar nothing inferior that way, as I heere. The most of the membres wolde soone be cured, if the herds wer brought into better temper. And so shulde there be a right, good, and dutifull cure done indeede vpon them, as is requisite, which God graunt may be better

heedid, that he and his kingdome may be better knowne to the vntaught sort. To his blessed protection I recommend your good L. and vs all. At Tutbury, 16 Apr. 1585.

No. CIX.

April 1584.

Trustye, &c. Whereas you haue bene heretofore a suter vnto us, to be released of the custodye of owre cosyn, the Scotish Q. wherin you have served us most fathefully, to your great credyt, and our owne singuler contentment; We are pleased that you shall be now released of that care and charge; for which purpose we have made choyse of A. B. and C. D. to supplye your place in that behalfe, as by owre instructyons, dyrected bothe vnto your self and vnto them, you shall more at large perceyve. And, for that the said Q. owre cosyn may conceyve vppon this remove that owre meaning is, that she shall herafter receaue more harder vsage than heertofore she hath don, as also that the treaty, which was the last somer dealt yn betweene vs, shall now be voyde of all hope of furder proceeding; you shall declare vnto her, that though some things lately discouered vnto vs may minister iust cause both for thone and thother, as we dare make herself the judge, when she shall vnderstande the same, as our meaning is she shall, yet we, being led rather to follow our awn disposicion, which is no way inclyned to extremite, then to looke vpon her deserts, if we shall receave that satisfaction at her hands which we looke for, and which she ought in reason to performe, she shall then fynde vs disposed to yeld that contentment, as she shall haue no cause to mislyke of. And for her better satisfactyon in this behalfe, our meaning is you shall shewe her thes owre letters.

NOTES

OF

SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL,

BY

SIR RALPH SADLER.

[The following are Sketches which Sir Ralph seems to have preserved of his own Speeches, whether in the House of Commons, or at the Council-Board, upon remarkable occasions. They are barely marked, *Parliament.*]

NOTES

OF

SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT AND COUNCIL,

BY SIR RALPH SADLER.

Speech concerning the Subsidy and Succession of the Crown.

This Oration seems to have been delivered upon the ministerial side of the question, in the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth. It was at that period the anxious desire of the Commons, that the Queen would be pleased, either by marriage, or an act of settlement of the Crown, to provide for a legitimate succession in the monarchy. The dreadful wars of York and Lancaster were a recent example of the horrors of a contested right; nor did the consequences of the short usurpation of Lady Jane Gray tend less to alarm the present generation. The Queen of Scotland, next lawful heir to the throne, was an alien, a catholic, and connected nearly with the family of Guise, the declared enemies of the protestant faith. Her right formed, therefore, the hope of the catholics, and the terror of the established church and puritans; while each party was anxious to dare an investigation, which they hoped might terminate in their own favour. The most active among those who, in the House of Commons, were desirous of bringing this important question to a decision, proposed to blend a request, for the settlement of succession, with the vote of supply. Sir Ralph Sadler argues against this proposal, which in latter times acquired the name of *tacking*, because a money bill was in this manner tacked to a claim of right, or other bill, with which it had no necessary connection. His arguments were successful; the Commons voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eightpence on moveables; together

with two-fifteenths; and all without touching upon the delicate point of the succession.

Touching these matiers which now be com in question amongst us, I will, with your favour, in few woords, saye my poure mynde and opynyon. First, I will speke to the mateir of the subsidie, which was first moved, and then to the others. Touching the subsidie, trewly no man lyving wolde be more loth then I to set fourth, or to speke in the furtheraunce of any thing in this place, which might seme to be chargeable or burdenous to my countrey. But when I do consider of the grete and weightie causes which, at this tyme, do indede urge and require a subsidie, I cannot pretermitte nor passe the same over with sylence, but rather have thought it my duetie to commende the same to your wisdomes and good consideracions: and if any man shall conceyve of my speche, or, percase, not loking into the depth and botom of the matier, shall thinke or judge of me, that I speke for the profite and commodyte of the Q. majestie, rather then for the benefite and common weale of my countrey; if any man here shall so thinke of me, to him I answer, that if I speke for the Q. majestie, in so doing I speke not agenst the common weale of my countrey; for her majestie is the hed of our common weale; and, being the hed of our common weale, that which is good for the one cannot be evill for thother: and therefore I may the more boldely speke in that which I thinke is profitable, commodious, and good for bothe. Surely, in my poure opynion, there was never greter cause whie we shulde graunt a subsidie; and the necessitie of the tyme did never more require it; for we see that the hole worlde, our neighbours round about us, of long tyme have ben, and yet be in armes, in hostilitie, and in grete garboyle; onelie we rest here in peace and quyetness, thanks be to God therefore, and the good government of the Q. majestie. Mary, it is a poynt of wisedom, in the tyme of peace, to provide for the warre; when we see our neighbours houses on fyre, it is wysdom to provide and forsee how to kepe the smoak

and sparks of the same as farre from our owne as we can. The principall and chief cause of this hostilitie and garboyl abrode is for the matier and cause of religion. The malice of the enemyes and adversaries of Godds ghospell dothe increase, and waxeth very hotte. The late accidents in Fraunce, the grete tyrannye, the horrible and cruell murders and slaughters which have bin committed and executed there, upon those of the religion, the lyke whereof hath never ben harde nor redde of, doth playnly shew and declare the dedely hatred and malice of the papists agenst the professors of Godds ghospell and trew religion. How gredy, thirstie they are of innocent bloode doth playnely appere. What faith, what trust is to be given to their woords and promyses, all men may see. Indeed they do but watch their tyme; and therefore we had neede to beware of them, and to provyde for their malice in tyme. We have harde, and we here daylie, of secret conspiracies, and grete confederacies bitween the Pope, the French king, and other prynces of the popish confederacie, agenst all princes protestants, and professours of the ghospell, of the which the Q. majestie is the chief patronesse and protectrix at this day. It is not unlyke, nay it is not to be doubted, but that those prynces of that popish confederacie, as sone as they can settle and establish the Romish religion within their owne territories and domynyons, will fourthwith converte and imploy all their forces to restore the same also in Englande, where they may be sure to fynde a grete ayde of our owne nacyon, of our English papistes here at home, besids those which be abrode, to helpe and further the same. In Englande, the Q. majestie is the onelie and gretest mark which the adversaries of Godd's gospell do shote at, and therefore her majestie had never greater cause, and never more neede to come herself, to make herself strong, and to furnish her coffres with treasure; whereby she may be the more able to defende her realme and subjects, and to incountre and mete with the malice of her enemyes. This, I doubt not, all wise men do evydently and playnly see; and if there were none other cause then this, surely it were suffieyent to persuade us willingly

to condescend to the graunt of a subsidie, as I doubt not but such as be zelous to advaunce the glorie of God and his gospell, such as do love the Q. majestie and their countrey, will, in these daungerous days, shew themselfs liberall and willing to depart with a small porcion of their goods, such as they may well forbere, for to resiste and impugne the malice of the enemyes of Christ's gospell, which do daylie ymagyn and seke the utter ruyn and destruction of all the trew professours of the same. If there were no other cause, I say, but this, it were sufficient to require a subsidie. And yet is there another cause of gret moment, of grete importance, and that is the mateir of Irelande, which hath ben well remembred here. Indede the Q. majestie, and her noble progenitors of long tyme, have ben at gret charges in Ireland, wherof hitherto they have had small profite or commodyte. And yet, of force, her majestie must continew, yea rather increase the charge, if she will reape any frute or commodyte thereof. The onelie way wherunto is to subdue and bring that lande to civilite and obedience; and who will not gladly contribute and bere a burden to so good an ende and purpose? If that land may be made civile and obedient, if the people there, which now be barbarous, wilde, and savage, lawles, without law or justice; if they may be brought to the knowledge of God and of his woord, and of their dueties to their prince and sovereign, and so to lyve civilie and obedientlie under law and justice; no doubt but as they must needs increase and grow therby into welth and quyetnes, so then, instede of the gret charges which the princes of this realme have alwaies susteyned for the stey of that lande in obedience, gret profite, and a good yerelie revenue, will arrise and grow to the crowne of Englande. So that all men of reason must needs confesse, that the cost and charge employed thereabouts shalbe well bestowed: and every man ought, and, I think, will gladlie and willingly contribute towards the charge. The charge indede hath ben, and wilbe grete for the tyme; yea so great, that her majestie shall not be able to bere it, nor to susteyne it, without the helpe and contribucion of her good and

lovyng subjects. The charge is an extraordinary charge, and we be taught by experience, that when princes be charged with such extraordinary charges, they ar enforced to seke extraordinary wayes and meanes of ayde and relief. In such cases comenly they have recourse to the benevolence, good will, and ayde of their good and lovyng subjects; for their owne ordynarye revenues will do no more then bere their ordynarye charges. The princes ordynarie revenue will not suffice nor extende to mayntene such extraordinary charges: and therefore, as of force, her majestie must be constrayned to seke some other way of relief, either by way of subsidie, lone, or other contribucyon at thands of her good and lovyng subjects, as all princes in such cases ar inforcid to do; so we of duetie ought to have care and good consideracion of the same, and gladlie and willingly to contribute and bere with her majestie according to our porcions, according to our habilities, lyke good and loving subjects. I shall not nede to use any persuasions to move or persuade you therunto. Indede I will not go about to persuade you; the causes of themselfs ar sufficient to persuade you, being men of wisedom and judgement, men selected and chosen of the best and wisest sorte of the hole realme; such as can decerne and judge, moche better then I can, what is fitte for good subjects to do in this case: And therefore, having by this my shorte speche, uttered and declared myne owne affection to further this matier of subsidie, I leave it to your wisedoms and good consideracions, trusting that every man here will show himself as well affected as I am to further the same, and to do therin that which is fitte for good subjects to do, according to our duties.

Now, to thother matier touching the succession. Surely I cannot but moche commend the zelous and good mynde of him that hathe brought it here in question; and for myn owne parte I wish and desire, from the bottom of my herte, that som good successe and effecte might follow of it; and yet I am not of opynyon that it is fitte for us to deale with it at this tyme, specyally not to myxe or myngle it with

the matier of the subsidie, wherby we might seme, as it were, to condicyon and couvenant with her majestie, as who wolde say, if her majestie will graunt us the one we will the more willingly graunte the other. This kynde and maner of condicyonyng with the prince, is not, I thinke, fitte for us to use; for therby we shulde not only extenuate and moche disgrace the franknes and liberalitie of our graunte of the subsidie, but also, I feare, we shulde rather hinder then further the other matier which we so greately wish for and desyre. Thother matier, the matier of succession, is a thing which, I think, we do all hunger and thirst for; but yet I see not how we can deale with it onles it cam from the Q. majestie. It is a matier farre out of our reche and compasse, and it were in vayne, yea, mere folie in us, to deale with suche matiers as we cannot arreche. We ought to thinke, that the Q. majestie and her nobilitie, (whom it doth most chiefely concerne and belong unto) be not unmyndfull nor lesse carefull of it then we be; and yet if any grete cause, hidden and unknown to us, do move her majestie to stay and forbere to deale in it untill a better tyme and oportunyte may serve for the purpose, we ought to satisfie and contente ourselfs with it, and to referre it hollie to her majestie. Therefore myn advise shalbe, that we do procede in the matier of the subsidie simplie without it, and that we do shew ourselfs good and lovyng subjects in the good expedicion of the same. And for the other matier concerning the succession, let us pray to God, in whose hands the harts of prynces are, that it will please Him, of his infinite goodnes, to dispose the harte and mynde of her majestie, so to consider of it, and so to deale in it, and in such convenyent and due tyme as may be not onely for her owne suretie, but also for the suretie and quyetnes of her realme and subjects. This is my poure advise; and, if all men here knew as moche as I do, I thinke they wolde the soner, and the more easily, be persuaded to be of myn opynyon.

Speech in the Council.

The following opinion seems to have been delivered at the Board of Privy Council, by Sir Ralph Sadler, about 1561, when the Queen's subjects of every description were extremely solicitous that she should, by some formal act, settle the succession to the Crown. It is well known that this was a proposal so utterly disagreeable to Queen Elizabeth's feelings, that no explanation on the subject could be wrested from her during her long reign.

Being so lately called to serve in this place of counsell, for the which, as I was never mete, so never more unmete then now, it were my parte to here for my lerning rather then to speke ; but if it please your majestie to give me leave, I will say what I thinke in this matier, without fayning or dissimulacion. Your majestie seeth in what uncerten state your people do lyve, and also you understand how they hunger and thirst to here that your majestie wolde be so carefull over them as to provide for the suretie of them, their wives and children. I meane that it wolde please your highnes to establish your succession, which indede is the thing that all your people of all degrees have long expected and loked for ; and surely the nombre of the wisest men of your realme ar brought into grete admiracion, whie, and upon what respects, you have so long delayed it ; and yet, for myn owne parte, I wolde not advise your highnes unto it, if I did see that any way it shulde be an unsuretie to your royall person ; but under your majesties reformation it semeth unto me rather to be a grete suretie to your highnes ; for sure I am that by the same your majestie shall wynne the

herts of all your people, which is the gretest strength and suretie that a prynce can have. The greatest prince in the world, if he have all the riches of the worlde, and lacke the herts and good will of his people, he hathe nothing, nor yet can stande in any suretie. And if your majestie shulde now ende your parliament, and leave your people voyd of hope, and desperate of this mateir of succession, which is now so moche urged and required at your hands; and so your nobles and comons go home greved in their herts and discontented; and, when they come home, their countreymen shall inquire of them what is done; for your highnes may be sure that all men herken to this mateir, and som of them percase will advisedly answer, and som others percase, rashly and unadvisedly, will say, we have don nothing but given away your money, the quene hath that she loked for, but she hath no care of us; how your peoples herts wilbe wounded with this! And what adventure you give to lose their herts and good will, I leave to your judgment, which is indede the gretest unsuretie that can be to your state: And therfore I conclude, that the establishment of your succession, wherby you may be sure to wynne the herts of your people, is a suretie, and no unsuretie, to your highnes. Now, if your majestie shoulde be in gelousie of him or her that shulde succeed, so might all prynces be in gelousie of their owne children; for the storyes make mencion, that som prynces have ben in more dangier and unsuretie by their owne children then by others: Yet if there be any such cause of gelousie, there be good lawes made to bridle such successours, and straighter lawes may be made for your highnes suretie, which I dare boldly say, wilbe most willingly assented unto. Well it may be sayd, as I have harde your highnes saye, that the title is so uncertin, and so doubtful, that, if it shall com in question, no man can tell where to rest. Surely the more uncerten and the more doubtfull it is, the more nedefull it is to make it certen; and then it is to be considered, whether it be better to have it decyded now, when it may be don by your highnes, and such of your nobilite, such of your wise counsail, and such of your

lerned counsaile, and other grave parsons, as it shall please you to call unto it; by whom the matier may be debated, and in manner adjudged and over ruled, before it be brought in question in the parliament houses. Whether is it better, I say, to have it so decyded now, when it may be don in sure and quyet maner, then to leave to com to tryall and judgement hereafter by the sworde, where victory in bloody battaile shalbe the only judge, and whereby it may com to passe, that an usurper shall enjoye the garlands, and the right heir be excluded?

Speech in Parliament respecting the Queen of Scotland's title to the Succession of the Crown of England.

In the year 1563, the point of succession continued deeply to interest the people of England, who were divided between the rival claims of Mary of Scotland, and of the House of Suffolk. To declare in favour of Mary's claim of inheritance was attended with many dangers, since it might furnish her with a plausible ground for yet higher pretensions. The legitimacy of Elizabeth had never been acknowledged by the Catholics, who were still a powerful body among her subjects. Besides those favourers of her title, the Queen of Scotland was fortified by the strength of her native kingdom, her relation to the House of Guise, and her alliances with the Catholic princes of the Continent. To acknowledge a successor in so powerful a rival, might encourage her to anticipate the course of inheritance, and attempt to depose the immediate possessor of the Crown. On the other hand to disallow pretensions, founded in the right of blood, which, in the case of Mary of England, and of Elizabeth herself, had surmounted even the prejudices of religion, might revolt the consciences not only of the Catholics, but of many zealous Protestants, place the Scottish queen in the character of an injured person, and furnish her partizans with an apology for any desperate courses they should choose to pursue. Queen Elizabeth, therefore, though she permitted her councillors (as Sadler in the following speech), to throw out such doubts respecting Mary's title, as might discourage that queen and her party, observed, on her own part, so cautious a neutrality, as to render herself an apparently disinte-

rested umpire of the dispute, and to induce the Scottish princess patiently to abide her decision.

I AM not fitte to speke in so grete a matier as this is, wantyng wisedom, lerning, and experyence, required to be in him that should judge of the same: but because I have harde som speeke here, touching the tytle of the Quene of Scotts to thimperiall crowne of this realme, wherein it semeth that she hathe some fautours and favourers, I am the rather moved to utter myn affection in that parte. Indede I am not so well lerned in the lawes of the realme, that I can or will presume, or take upon me to judge or discusse of titles. I cannot say who hath the best and most just title to succeede the Q. majestie in her imperiall crowne; God preserve her highnes in helth long to enjoye it with moche felicite; but being a more naturall Englishman, I do fynde in meself a gret mislyking to be subject to a foreyn prynce, a prynce of a strange nacion; and methinks we shulde not be so unnaturall as to seke or desire a stranger to reigne over us rather then a prynce of our owne nacyon. And for the Q. of Scotts, though she were indede next heire in bloode to the Q. majestie, yet being a straunger, by the lawes of the realme, as I understand, she cannot inherite in Englande; which is a good argument to me that the nature of Englishmen hath alwayes so moche detested the regiment of straungers, that they have made lawes to barre all tytles which any straunger may clayme of inheritance within the realme. We have had good experience of the Scotts, how moche they have disdayned to have a prynce of our nacyon to reigne over them; and that they have rather chosen to abyde all extremite of the warres and force of England, then they wolde consent to have an Englishman to be theyre kyng and gover-

nour, wherof I can shew you a good and trew example: And also, I can tell you what affection and disposicion I have founde in the Scotts themselfs, by their own confession and sayeings unto me in this case: —Not long after the deth of the last king of Scotts, I was sent into Scotland by the king, then our sovereign lorde, King Henry VIII., to move a maryage bytwen Prynce Edward that then was, and the Q. of Scotts that now is. And I had to do therein with the Q., then douagier, of Scotland, and mother of the quene that now is, and also with him that was then governour of Scotland, who semed to lyke very well of the matier; although indede they did but dissemble, as it did playnly appere afterwards: but yet they semed to lyke so well of it, that they were content to send theyr ambassadours hither to treate of the matier here with the king himself; whereupon the kyng appoynted certen of his counsaile, by commission, to treate with them; whereof insued a long treatie, from Easter till it was almost Mighelmas; for the Scotts used many delayes only to wynne tyme; and yet, at the last, they agreed uppon the mariage; and the treatie was made, and sealed by the commissioners on both sides; and also afterwards ratified both by the kyng here, and also by the governour in Scotland. And, amongst other things, it was pacted and couvenanted in the treatie, that the young quene shoulde be delyvered into England when she shoulde accomplishe the age of 10 yeres; and in the meane season, a gentilman and a gentilwoman of Englande, with a convenyent nomber of English men and women, not above the nombre of 40, as I remember, shoulde remayne in Scotland aboute the yong prynces, for her better educacion, after thinglish maner: And also, that 6 noblemen of Scotland, of their next heires, shoulde remayne in Englande as hostages and pledges for the delyvery of the young quene into Englande at her age of 10 yeres. And as any of the hostages either shuld dye, or retourne into Scotland, others shulde be sent to supplie their places, of like degree, so as alwaies 6 shuld remayne in England as

pledges, untill the young quene were delyvered into Englande. This was fully agreed, and no soner agreed then it was fourthwith violated and broken on their parte; for when it cam to the poynt, that the hostages shoulde repaire into Englande, not one nobleman of Scotland wolde either com himself, or suffer his next heire to lye in Englande as hostage and pledge for the delyverie of the yong quene, according to the treatie; so as the hole treatie was violated and broken, and no parte of it performed on their parte. Now, whills this mateir was in treatie, and after it was agreed on, and before it was ratified, I had sondry conferences with dyvers Scottish men, to understande their affections; and, amongst others, with one Otterborn, Sir Adam Otterborn, a knight, reputed to be a wise man as any was in Scotland. He was sundry tymes ambassadour here with King Henry VIII. from the last king of Scotland; and with him I discoursed of the grete benefite and quyetnes lyke to ensue of that maryage bytwen those two prynces, whereby the two realmes shoulde be unyted and conjoyned under one regyment. And in our talke, it semed to me that he coulde not chose, but broke out in thes words; Whie think you, said he, that this treatie wilbe perfourmed? Whie not, said I? I assure you, said he, it is not possible; for our people, said he, do not lyke of it. And though the governour and som of the nobylite, for certen respects, have consented to it, yet, said he, I know that few or none of them do lyke of it; and our comen people, sayeth he, do utterly mislyke of it. I tolde him agayn, that it was verye straunge to me to understand their affections to be suche, considering the grate weale and benefite that must needs insue of it; thoportunyte and occasion therof being offered, as it were, by Godd's providence having lefte unto them a yong princes, and to us a yong prynce; by the mariage of which two princes, this two realmes being knytte and conjoyned in one, the subjects of the same, which have ben alwaies infested with the warres, myght live in welth and perpetual peas. I pray you, said he, give me leave

to aske you a question : and this was his question, in thes wourds and terms which I will reherse unto you. If, said he, your lad were a las, and our las were a lad, wold you then, said he, be so ernest in this mateir ; and coulde you be content that our lad should mary your las, and so be King of England? I answered, that considering the grate good that might ensue of it, I shoulde not shew myself zelous to my country, if I shoulde not consent unto it. Well, said he, if you had the las and we the lad, we coulde be well content with it ; but, sayeth he, I cannot beleve that your nacyon coulde agree to have a Scotte to be kyng of England. And lykewise I assure you, said he, that our nacyon, being a stout nacyon, will never agree to have an Englishman to be king of Scotland. And though the hole nobilite of the realme wolde consent unto it, yet our comen people, and the stones in the strete, wolde ryse and rebelle agenst it. This was his saying unto me, and others also sayed as moche to lyke effect ; whereby you may the better understande the affection and disposicion of thes Scotts in this case. And even, as they sayed, it followed ; for by and by, after the treatie was ratified, the governour and nobilitie of Scotland revolted from it, contrary to their othe, lyke false forsworn Scotts ; wherupon the warres insued, wherof they worthely fele the smarte at this daye. Now, if this proude beggerly Scotts did so moch disdayn to yelde to the superioryte of England, that they chose rather to be perjured, and to abyde the extremyte of the warres and force of England, then they wolde consent to have an Englishman to be their kyng, by such lawfull meanes of maryage, whie should we, for any respecte, yelde to their Scottishe superiority, or consent to establish a Scotte in succession to the crowne of this realm, contrary to the lawes of the realme, and therby to do so grate an injurye as to disinherite the next heire of our owne nacyon? Surely, for my part, I cannot consent unto it. And I feare, leest I may say with the Scotte, that though we do all agree unto it, yet our comen people, and the stones in the strete, wolde

rebelle agenst it. So that where it is thought to be for a perpetual concorde, it wolde rather turne to a perpetual discorde, both amongst ourselfs, and with the Scotts, for ever. Thus have I declared myn affection concerning the regiment of a straunge prynce over us, wherein, whatsoever may be gathered of my words, I meane as well to my countrey as becometh a naturall and good Englishman; and no lesse honour and suretie to my prynce, then aperteyneth to thoffice and duetie of a trew subject.

Opinion in Privy Council, respecting the Restoration of Queen Mary to the Throne of Scotland.

So soon as the unfortunate Mary of Scotland took refuge in the dominions of her rival, it became a discussion of deep interest in the councils of Elizabeth, whether she ought to restore the fugitive princess to her dominions, or adhere to and acknowledge the power which had dethroned her in the name of her infant son? Sir Ralph Sadler, like Cecil, and other counsellors of Elizabeth, delivers an opinion more reconcileable to policy than to generosity, good faith, or magnanimity. The speech was probably made about 1568, and may have directed the queen in her choice of Sadler as one of the commissioners sent to try the question between Mary and her subjects at York.

I HAVE the other day declared my pour opynyon of and for the restoring of the Q. of Scotts, and therefore I will not trouble your majestie with such superfluous matier as to make any repetition of the same, otherwise then as I may have som occasion in discourse of this matier. But being resolved that it cannot be good, but rather most daungerous for your majestie, that she shoulde reigne and governe in Scotland; being so resolved for myn owne part, I must needs say then, that it is expedient for your majestie to accepte and allowe of the state as you fynde it, that is, of the regiment established in the young Kyng of Scotts. Of the validite or invalidite of his title, your majestie hath

not to dispute, in my poure opynyon, but to take him for a kyng as you find him.[1] Your majestie knoweth, that when the king your brother departed to God out of this life, there was by and by a quene proclaymed here, the Lady Jane, which was knowen both abrode and here at home to be but an usurper; nevertheles themperour Charles and the French king being advertised by ambassadours from hens, that the state was so established here, did both accept and allowe of it. And though, as I thinke themperour did not so well lyke of it as the French king did, because it wolde have served his turne better to have had the quene your sister in that place, in whom the right was indede; yet, lyke a wise and politique prynce, he made no question of the tytle, but did accept and allowe of the state as he founde it, and promised to contynew the amyte according to the auncyent leages; yea, and offered to enter into straighter leage, if the case shoulde so require. By this example, I thincke it good polycie for your majestie to accepte the state of Scotland as you fynde it, without disputacion of the title, the rather because it may best serve your turne. And if your majestie shoulde enter into a leage with that state, who can justly fynde any faulte with it, as if there were no wiser man then I am, surely I wolde say, that it were good polycie for your majestie, in case the K. of Scotts wolde renounce the olde leages with Fraunce, to enter with him into a straight leage, both offensive and defensive, to be frende to frende, and enemy to enemy. I may herein speke folishly, but I meane well to your majestie and to my countrey; and therfore I trust your majestie will the rather bere with me, though I speke lyke a fole: For my parte, surely, I coulde be well content that yt might please your majesty to enter into such a leage with the K. of Scotts, though it shulde cost your highnes CM l. (100,000l.) to holde him up, and to set him fast in his throne; which I thinke your majestie may do with a

[1] Here is an early statement of the casuistical distinction between a king *de facto* and *de jure*

lesse charge, in despite of all France and Flanders too. I have many tymes thought of this matier; and I have considered, so farre furth as my powre witte can conceyve of the state and termes which your majesty standeth in at this present with all prynces abrode, specially with those which be your vicines and neighbours, as with the K of Spayne, and the French king, and also with the Q. of Scotts, and Scotland; and having entered into the consideracion of the same, I finde the K. of Spayne and the French king to be faynt and fayned frends to your majesty, such as do but expect the tyme when they may shewe themselfs open enemyes, as if they may prevaile in thestablishment of their Romish religion within their owne domynyons; who seeth not that then they will bende all their forces to establish the lyke in England? and if they may then fynde a quene in Scotland, that pretendeth a title to the crowne of Englande, who seeth not that she wilbe a redy and an apte instrument to serve both theirs and also her own turne; when she may have ayde thereunto both by the Pope, the King of Spayne, the French King, and also by the favour of your evill subjects here at home, the papists, which, to set up their popish kingdom, wolde not care to have a murderesse and an adulteresse to reigne over them? Mary, I trust your majestie will so provide, that they shall fynde no such quene in Scotland. But to retourne where I was, I fynd, as I sayed, the K. of Spayne and the French king to be but faynt and fayned frends, which onely abide the tyme to declare themselfs open enemyes. The Q. of Scotts I fynde also to be a seeret dedely enemy to your majestie, lacking onely power and lyberte to execute and shew her malice openly. And for Scotland, I fynde it divided in two parts and factions, wherof one is addicte to the yong King of Scotland, mynding to mayntain his state and govournement, and to contynew the religion in Scotland; and they which do shew themselfs to be of that partie, do offer themselfs to adhere to your highnes, and to depende hollie at your devocyon. Thother partie and faction do

shew themselfs addicted to the Q. of Scotts, seming to have an intencion and desire to have her restored to her former state and govournement in Scotland; but rather, I think, they meane, under that colour, to advaunce the house of the Hamyltons, having alwayes ben a mortall enemyte bytween the two houses, the Stewards and the Hamyltons. And they which be of this partie, depende altogether upon Fraunce; and with them your rebells also do joyne themselfs, hoping, with such ayde as they loke for out of Fraunce and Flanders, to be able to trouble your state, as well by procurement of a new styrre and rebellion within the realme, as by invasions and incursions upon your frontiers, and otherwise; wherein they lacke no good will to offend and annoy your majestie by all the waies and meanes they can. Thus I fynde that your majestie hathe many enemyes; but then it may please you to see what frends, what helpe, God hath provided for your majestie agenst such enemyes. First; if the King of Spayne wilbe an enemye, as I thinke he wilbe loth now to shew himself, because indede the tyme doth not serve him, but if he will nedes be an enemye, your majestie, if it please you, may so provyde and confederate with the Prynces of Germany, that, as I thinke, you may have some of the best of them to give him somewhat to do at home, and so to offende and annoy him, in his Low Countries, as he shall not be able to spare any grate force from thens to supporte your enemyes and rebells in Scotlande, nor yet to trouble your highnes much otherwise. And if the French king will also be an enemye, your majestie hathe the Quene of Navarre, the Prynces of Navarre and Condee, thadmyrall, and others of the nobilitie of Fraunce, which, with some ayde and comforte from your majestie, will give the French king so moche to do at home, as he shall not be able to do your majestie any grete harm; whereof we have good experience: And thus may your majestie provide for the two grete enemyes to give them enough to do at home, even at their owne dores; which all politique prynces neyther have in tymes past

omytted, nor yet wolde omytte to do in like cases: And yet your majestie may use these remedies none otherwise then as your enemyes shall give you just occasion. As for the Q. of Scotts, she is in your owne hands, your majestie may so use her as she shall not be able to hurte you; and to that end surely God hathe delyvered her into your hands, trusting that your majestie will not neglect the benefite by God offered unto you in this delyveree of such an enemye into your hands.[1] And then for your enemyes and rebells in Scotland, your majestie is able to chastise them, though you had no partie at all in Scotland; and yet, if it please you, you may have a partie there to confronte them at home. And so your majestie may see that God hathe not left you destitute of frends and helpe to defende you agenst all your enemyes; as indede I doubt not but God is on your side, who, as he hathe preserved and kept you from many daungers, so I trust, that having ordeyned your highnes to be his minister, and a specyall instrument to set fourth his glorie, he will mayntaine and defende you agenst all your enemyes, which shalbe my daylie prayer. And yet for all this, I coulde be well content that those matiers which have bredde unkyndnes betwixt your highnes and the K. of Spayne and the French kyng, might be well compounded and brought to a good ende. But how, or by what meanes it may be, that is to be well advised, considered, and resolved by wyser men then I am; for though I have thought of it, yet cannot I devise how those matiers may be well ended, at the least so ended as I wold wish; that is, in such sorte as might stande with thonour, weale, and commodyte of your highnes,

[1] This abominable doctrine, that Providence, by affording an opportunity for a crime, calls upon the party who may profit by it, not to hesitate at the perpetration, has been the apology of the worst villanies in all ages. When the fanatical assassins, who murdered the Archbishop of St Andrew's, on Magus-moor, in 1679, saw his carriage unexpectedly approach, they unanimously agreed, that the Lord had delivered him into their hands, and that they could not neglect such manifestation of the divine will, without an evident neglect of a call from heaven.

your realme, and subjects. And yet I see, that, at length, eyther your highnes must seke the meanes at their hands, or they must seke of you; and comonly they are dryven to seke which have most nede. Mary, thanks be to God, your majestie hath no such nede but that you may abyde the tyme as well as they. And, in myn opynyon, the lesse you seke, and the longer you holde of, the better shall your merchants trade be setteled at Hamburgh, and the better shall you make your bargayn when the mateir shall com in question and treatie; and yet if, in the meane season, any good meanes shalbe offered, or any good occasion mynistred whereby those matiers may be brought to a good end, I am of opynyon that the same shoulde not be neglected, but that your majestie shulde take the commodyte of the same, as tyme shall mynister the occasion; and the more tyme you wynne, the better, I thinke, for your majestie. But, in this matier of Scotland, no tyme wolde be omytted. Surely it is most expedient for your majestie to take that way, and to pretermytte no occasion nor oportunyte to enterteyn the amyte of Scotland; for if the K. of Spayne, or the French king do breke with you, if they have any intencyon to offende or annoy your majestie, they have no way so fitte nor so proper for them to do it, as by the way of Scotland: Kepe them out of Scotland, that they set no foote there, and your majestie shall the lesse nede to care for any offence or anoyance that they can do to your highnes elleswhere; for your navie being on the see, they shall not be able to lande anywhere in Englande, to do any grete harme: And therefore your majestie hathe specyally to foresee and provide that they get no fote nor entre in Scotland; and the way therto, the best way to mete with the same, is for your majestie to enter first, to set fote first in Scotland, and there to joyne with that partie which do offer themselfs to your highnes, for the mayntenance of the state and govournement of the young king of Scotts, and for contynuance of the religion in Scotland; wherein, if it may please your majestie to procede effectually, if it will

please your majestie to take that course, and to followe it with effecte, though it be som charge to your highnes, which wilbe saved another way; as, if your majestie do spende CM (100,000) crownes that way, it will save you CM l. (100,000 l.) another way. And so I say, if it will please your majestie to take that course, and to go through with it effectually, I am of opynyon, that within a shorte tyme your majestie may have all, or the most parte of Scotland, at your devocyon. Mary, if your majestie shall procede coldely and indifferently, shewing yourself indifferent betwixt both parties, as you have don hitherto, whereby the one partie may live in hope, and the other in feare that you will restore the Q. of Scotts; if your majestie shall procede in that sorte, then it muste neds be, as hitherto indede it hathe ben, a gret hinderance to the cause, a gret hinderance and prejudice both to your majestie, and specyally to that partie which shall stande for your majestie and the young King of Scotts; but if both parties shall perceyve and see that your majestie will take this course, and that your highnes myndeth indede to follow it with effect, it will so incourage thone partie, and so discourage thother, that in tyme they must all follow that course, knowing that if your majestie putts your force on thone syde, the other shall not be able to prevaile nor to stande long agenst you; and so surely, I think, that within a short tyme your majestie shalbe able to reduce the adverse partie to the obedience of the young king, and by that have all Scotland at your devocyon, whereby the amyte betwen both realmes may be contynewed and increase, which in tymes past hathe ben many waies sought by your noble progenytours, and coulde never be obtayned. And so, to conclude, I am of opynyon, that it is better for your majestie to mayntayn and allowe of the title and regiment of the young king, of whom you may have a frende, and by him thamyte of Scotland, then to admyt the title and governement of the Q. of Scotts, of whom you shalbe sure to have an utter enemye, and by her the enemyte of all Scotland; besydes the gret daungiers and

perills which, by her, may ensue to your owne state and suretie; which perills have ben so sufficiently layd before your majestie by my lords and others here, that it were superfluous in me to make any further repeticion of the same. This is all, &c.

Articles conteyning sondry inconvenyances, perilles, and daungiers which do depend upon the Maryage now in treatie bytwen the Q. Maj. and Mounsieur, heir-apparent to the Crowne of France.

All readers of history are familiar with the negociations for a marriage between the Duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. of France; his visit to England; the coquettish encouragement which he received from the Queen; and the unexpected repulse which at length broke off the treaty. All the Queen's wisest counsellors, and, what was hardly of less consequence, her most favoured courtiers, opposed the French match with vigour. Leicester, Hatton, Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, joined in remonstrances, and at length induced the Queen, after much painful irresolution, to sacrifice her dreams of connubial felicity to her usual political prudence. The wholesome arguments by which this change of opinion was at length wrought in her mind, are well detailed in the following speech of Sir Ralph Sadler.

First, To beginne with Goddes cause, which is the matier of religion, it is to be considered, that her majestie being princypally noted to be the chief patronesse and protectrix of the ghospell and trew religion at this day, and Monsieur specyally noted, reputed, and taken to be mere contrary, it will brede no little discredite to her majestie, with all the prynces protestants in christendom, to matche herself in

maryage with a papisticall prynce; being so contrary to her highnes as he is in religion.

Also, it cannot but brede not onely grate hinderaunce to the good successe of the ghospell in all parts of christendom, but also will brede daungerous factions and parties amongst ourselves here at home; for that our papists being alredy too bolde, will conceyve and take a gret deal more boldnes and courage by this maryage, (whereof what inconvenyence will insue God knoweth). It may be boldly affirmed, that her majestie's sister, the late Quene Mary, wolde not have ben moved nor induced to marye with a protestant prynce, to have ben lady and sovereigne of ten kingdomes.

Agayn, if God shoulde take her majestie from us (which God forbidde) in the lyfe tyme of Monsieur, as all prynces be mortall as well as others, then the Q. of Scotts being here within the realme, hoping to succede her majestie, who coulde be a fytter instrument for her to set her up, or a fytter matche for her in maryage then Monsieur; which wolde be no harde matier for him to bryng to passe, with the helpe and ayde of our papistes, which indede do hope for such a day, and also with such foreign ayde as he might procure out of Fraunce and otherwise. And so shoulde this realme be governed by a French man and a Scottish woman, and all our English turned into French and Scottish; and, that worse is, the ghospell of J. C. and trew relygion, shoulde be quyte and clere abolished, and all poperie, superstition, and idolatrie agayn restored and set up, as well or worse then ever it was. The Lorde inspire her majestie with his holy spirite, and give her grace to beware of all papists!

Secondly, The unyon of the two crownes of Fraunce and Englande, which may ensue of this maryage, is a principall matier to be thought on, as if Monsieur be King of Fraunce, which he loketh for daylie, and have issue a sonne by her majestie, it must then follow, by good probabilite, that both the crownes shall devolve and com to that issue;

and so because Fraunce is the more ample and rycher kingdom, this noble realme of Englande, which thes many hundreth, yea thousands of yeres, hath ben an auncyent royall kingdom, and a monarchie of itself, shall becom vassall, thrall, and subject to the crowne of Fraunce; whereof what may be sayed hereafter, and wrytten in histories, to the no litle infamye, and touche in honour of the noble lyne and posteryte of that noble and famous Prynce King Henry VIII., it may greve all trew Englishmen to thinke of itt; that is, that K. Henry his sonne, in the tyme of his reigne, being in his mynoryte and tender yeres, was, by meanes of gret rebellion, and other troubles in the realme, inforced to render and give up to the French the towne of Boleyn, which the king his father, of famous memorye, King Henry VIII. did conquer and wynne with the travaile of his owne person, a litle before he dyed. Also, that Q. Mary, in the tyme of her reigne, by her maryage with Philip K. of Spayn, was by him, and for his cause, moved and induced to enter into the warres with Fraunce; whereby she lost the towne of Calays, which her noble progenitours wan and kept with grete honour almost 300 yeres. But Q. Elizabeth, in the tyme of her reigne, by her maryage with Monsieur, heir-apparent to the crowne of France, lost all Englande, and brought the same into thraldom and subjection to the crowne of Fraunce. This wilbe sayed, and also wrytten in historyes, to remayn a matier of recorde for ever.

Trewly, thes two gret causes, religion, and the unyon of thes two crownes, are such, and so many gret inconvenyances, perilles, and daungiers do depende upon the same, as in myn opynyon ought to move all trew Englishmen to mislyke of this maryage.

Thirdly, If the French king do dye, who, by reason of the infirmyte and unsoundnes of his bodye, is not lyke to continew long, as it is thought, then Monsieur, succeding in his place, must neds make his residence and abode in Fraunce; so that her majestie shall eyther want the fruycyon of his company and presence, or elles must go with him

into Fraunce, to the grete grief and discomforte of all her trew and faithfull subjects. And in what governement the realme may be lefte in that case, I leave to the consideracion of wiser men.

Fourthly, The inequalyte of yeres bytwen her Majestie and Monsieur, in myn opynyon, is a matier to move som mislyking of this maryage, he being a very yong prynce, and her majestie of such yeres as, by the naturall course of the same, her majestie might be his mother.[1] Now, whether such maryages be godly and acceptable in the sight of God, I am not to dispute; but sure I am, that when this yong prynce shalbe in his best and flouryshing age, her majestie must neds be so farre growen in yeres, that what mislyking may growe therof, and what matier of unkyndnes it may brede, it is now to be thought on, leest hereafter, when it were more fytter for her majestie to lyve in her older yeres in most quyetnes, it fall out otherwise to her gret unquyetnes and griefe of mynde, and to the no litle regrete and discomforte of all that love her majesty. Example we have of the maryage bytwen her highnes sister, the late Q. Mary, and K. Philip, whose unkynde dealing, even in the lyke case, was a gret cause of the shortening of her dayes.

Fyvethly, What hope we may have of the frute of this maryage, of yssue of her highnes, indede although we are not utterly to dispare of it, yet can we not be in so gret hope of it now as when her majestie was of yonger yeres, and a gret dele more fitte to mary then she is now. Indede I am so jelous of her highnes person, that I dare not

[1] It may be much doubted whether this argument was acceptable to Queen Elizabeth. Yet she could admit the jest of her courtiers upon the three sorts of marriage, "one of God's making, as when Adam and Eve, two young folk, were coupled; one of man's making, when one is old and the other young, as Joseph's marriage; and one of the devil's making, where two old folks marry, not for comfort but covetousness."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, Vol. II. p. 153. Park's Edit.

give her advise to mary at thes yeres; for that we have it in comen experyence, that when maydens do in their yonger yeres forbere maryage untill they be growen in yeres, as her majestie now is, comonly eyther they have none yssue, or, if they have, the birth of it is daungerous, that few or none escape it.[1] For my parte, I am so jelous of her person, that I wolde not lyve to see her within the compas of that daunger. And therefore syns her majestie, in all the tyme of her yonger yeres, coulde never be affected to maryage, though gretely urged and pressed therunto, a thyng most wyshed for, and contynually prayed for; and gretely desyred and sought at her majestie's hands by all her good and loveing subjects, and yet coulde never be obteyned of her majestie by any meanes; it is to be thought that her majestie now, in her elder yeres, cannot be gretely affected to mary.

Lastly, There is another cause of inconvenyence depending upon this maryage, and that is, that the same is unyversally mislyked of thoroughout the realme; which is a matier not to be neglected; for, in myn opynyon, it is not good to do things to the generall discontentement of the hole realme.

[1] It is supposed that some apprehensions of personal danger mingled in Elizabeth's motives for refusing the match.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No I.

An Inventarie of all and singular the Goods, Chattells, and Debts of Ralph Sadler, late of Stondon Lordship, in the County of Hertford, Esq. deceased.—Taken and prized the fift day of March, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and sixty, by John Sabin, Thomas Stevens, and John Ashbey, as followeth, viz.

In the common Dyneing Room.

Imprimis, One long shovell board-table, three Spanish tables, two other tables, fifteene old Turkey worke stooles, two leather chaires, two cushions, two Turkey carpetts, one greene say carpett, seaven peices of tapestry hangings, one iron rang and backe; three iron doggs, one fyre shovell, one fyre-forke, one paire of inlaid tables, one chesse board, one bagg and men, and one paire of bellowes, ...	liii[l]	£53	0 0

In the best Dyneing Roome.

Item, Five peices of tapestry hangings of the story of Toby and his dogg, twelve tapestry back stooles, three great chaires of tapestry, one iron backe, and two and-irons, ... lv[l] £55 0 0

In the Billiard-Chamber.

Item, Foure peices of tapestry hangings, one couch, one chaire, two stooles, and a foot stoole of cloth of silver, and one billiard-table, ... l[l] 50 0 0

In the King's Chamber.

Item, Three peices of flatcapp hangings of the story of the Marriage of the Queene of Scotts; one cloath bed and bedsteed, foure curtaines, a double vallence, a counter-poynt and carpett of the same, one couch, one great chaire, two little chaires and a foote-stoole suiteable, one downe-bed, one bolster, two pillowes, one Holland quilt, two fustian blanketts, two woollen blanketts, a side-board table, a paire of stands, a paire

of creepers, a fyre-shovell and tongs, a paire of bellowes, and a window-curtaine of say, ... cxxx[l] £130 0 0

In the Inward Chamber to the King's Chamber.

Item, One halfe-headed bedsteed and canapy, one feather-bed and bolster, with a mattresse, one coverlett, one blankett, one wainscott chest, and a window curtaine of say, ... v[l] x[s] 5 10 0

In the Matted Gallery.

Item, Seaven mapps, one landskipp, fiftene pictures, five formes, one iron backe, and a paire of great and-irons, ... xx[l] 20 0 0

In the Suffolke Chamber.

Item, Foure pieces of tapestry hangings, a bedsteed, curtaines, and vallence, a counterpoint and carpett, a great chaire, foure little chaires, all of purple cloath laced, a downe-bed and bolster, two pillowes, two woollen blanketts, a fustian blankett, and a Holland quilt, a sideboard, cupboard, and carpett, a pair

of bellowes, a paire of and-irons, a fyre-shovell and tongs, a paire of snuffers, and a Dornex curtaine, ... lxiiii[l] £64 0 0

In the Gatehouse Chamber.

Item, Foure peices of tapestry hangings, two window curtaines of Dornex, a bedsteed, two paire of vallence, a tester and head-cloth, all of red velvet and cloath of silver imbroadered, five say curtaines, a feather-bed and bolster, a mattresse, two woollen blanketts, a fustian blankett, a rugge, a table-carpett, and a great leather chaire, ... xxv[l] 25 0 0

In Boybe Chamber.

Item, Five peices of tapestry hangings, one bedsteed, five curtaines and vallence of greene cloath laced, one feather-bed, one bolster, a Holland quilt, a mattresse, two blanketts, one rugg, one great chaire, one wooden chaire, two joyn'd stooles, one Turkey worke stoole, a paire of iron doggs, a fyre-shovell and tongs, a livery-cupboard and carpett, a window curtain of Dornex, and a paire of bellowes and snuffers, ... xxiiii[l] 24 0 0

In the next Chamber to Boybe Chamber.

Item, A half-headed bedsteed, a mattresse, a feather-bed, a bolster, one rugg, two blanketts, and one joyne stoole, . . . iii[l] v[s] £ S 5 0

In Averies Chamber.

Item, Foure peices of forrest worke hangings, one old bedsteed, a paire of old vallence and tester, five say curtaines, one feather-bed, one bolster, one pillow, two mattresses, two woollen blanketts, one fustian blankett, one greene rugg, two window curtaines of Dornex, one old leather chaire, two wainscott chaires, two joyne stooles, two Turkey work stooles, a livery cupboard, a paire of creepers, and a paire of bellowes, ... xxii[l] 22 0 0

In the Inward Chamber to Averies Chamber.

Item, One old bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, one pillow, two blanketts, one old rugg, two old chaires, one old

table, a little joyne stoole, a little window cloath of Turkey worke, ... v[l] x[s] £5 10 0

In Bolzes Chamber.

Item, Five peices of forrest hangings, one bedsteed, five curtaines and double vallence, one counterpoint and carpett, one couch, three chaires, and a footstoole, all of blacke and white Fugaretto; one bed, one bolster, two pillowes, a mattresse, two woollen blanketts, one fustian blankett, one Holland quilt, three joyne stooles, a paire of creepers, a fyre-shovell and tongs, and a paire of bellowes, ... xxviii[l] 28 0 0

In the Inward Chamber to Bolzes Chamber.

Item, A bedsteed, old vallence, and tester, one darnex curtaine, a feather-bed and bolster, one mattresse, one blanket, one coverled, one sideboard, and two joyne stooles, ... vi[l] 6 0 0

In the Falconer's Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, two bolsters, two blanketts, and a rugg, ... iiii[l] 4 0 0

In the Hallen Chamber.

Item, One joyn'd bedsteed, one halfe-headed bedsteed, two feather-beds, two bolsters, two blanketts, two coverletts, one table, two formes, one great leather chaire, two stooles, a paire of creepers, a fyre-shovell, and a paire of bellowes, . .	viii[l]	£8	0 0

In the Chamber within the Hallen Chamber.

Item, One bed, one bolster, one blankett, and one coverlett, ...	ii[l] x[s]	2	10 0

In Beamon's Chamber.

Item, One joyned bedsteed, curtaines, and vallence, one feather-bed, two bolsters, one pillow, one fustian blankett, two woollen blanketts, one rugg, one table, two formes, one great leather chaire, two wooden chaires, three stooles, a paire of creepers, a fyre-shovell and tongs, and a paire of bellowes, ...	viii[l]	8	0 0

In the Woollen Wardrope.

Item, One halfe headed bedsteed, five feather-beds, foure bolsters, three blanketts, one coverlett, one rugg, one Holland quilt, three tables, one paire of great and-irons cast, with other lumber, and seaven peices of old tapestry hangings, ... l[l] 50 0 0

In the Linnen Wardrope.

Item, Four curtaines, one counterpoint of red cloath, one tester and vallence of damaske and velvett, with odd thinges, . . . v[l] 5 0 0

In Puppets Parlour.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, two bolsters, one blankett, one coverlett, a wainscott chaire, and a stoole, ... i[l] xv[s] 1 15 0

In the Brewer's Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, and two bolsters, ... iii[l] 3 0 0

In the Usher of the Hall, his Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, one blankett, and one coverlett, ... iii l v s £3 5 0

In the Chamber over the Gatehouse.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, one coverlett, three joyne stooles, three formes, and one table, . . . iii 3 0 0

In the Warriners Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one bed, one bolster, one blankett, and one coverlett, ... ii l 2 0 0

In the Porter's Lodge.

Item, One table, one chaire, two benches, one feather-bed, one bolster, one pillow, and two ragged blankets, ... ii l v s 2 5 0

In the Groomes Chamber in the Stable.

Item, One bed, one bolster, one blankett, one old rugg, ... ii l 2 0 0

Item, In the stable, and att grasse, nine horses, ... xl[l] £40 0 0

In the Gallery next the Dogg-yard, Richard Sadlers Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one bed, one bolster, one pillow, one blankett, one coverlett, two tables, one chaire, and one joyne stoole, ... ii[l] x[s] 2 10 0

In the Under-cooke's Chamber.

Item, A bedstocke, a bed, a bolster, and a pillow, ... i[l] 1 0 0

In the Cookes Chamber.

Item, A table, a bedstocke, a feather-bed, a bolster, a pillow, two blanketts, and an old rugg, ... ii[l] x[s] 2 10 0

In the Clark's Chamber.

Item, A bedsteed, a bed, two bolsters, a pillow, three blanketts, a rugg, a course mattresse, two stooles, and a table, . . iiii[l] x[s] 4 10 0

In the Steward's Chamber.

Item, A bedsteed with curtaines and vallence, a flock-bed, bolster and mattresse, one pillow, two blanketts, one rugg, one table, one sideboard, cupboard and cupboard-cloath, two stooles, one old sorry chaire, one creeper, one fyre-shovell, a paire of tongs, and a paire of bellowes, ...	vi[l] xv[s]	6 15 0

In the Chamber next the Stewards Chamber.

Item, A bedsteed and vallence, one feather-bed, one mattresse, one bolster, one blankett, one coverlett, one table, one sideboard, and one joyne stoole. . .	iii[l] xv[s]	3 15 0

In the Great Hall.

Item, Two tables, two Turkey carpetts, a large peice of tapestry hanging, a great iron-grate, a deske, and a large great Bible, ...	xxviii[l]	28 0 0

In Robert Deard's Chamber.

Item, One halfe-headed bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, three pillowes, one mattresse, one blankett, one coverlett, one table, one rugg, one stoole, one presse, foure peices of old tapestry hangings, one old bedsteed, and a paire of creepers, ...	xi[l]	11	0	0

In the Pantry.

Item, One bedstoke, one feather-bed, one bolster, two old blanketts and lumber, as binns, tables, and bakers basketts, . . .	iiii[l]	4	0	0

In the Buttery Chamber.

Item, One bedsteed, one feather-bed, one bolster, one blankett, one rugg, and one presse, ...	iii[l]	3	0	0

In the Parlour.

Item, One table, one sideboard, cupboard, one small table, one elbow-chaire, five

joyne stooles, one forme, one old table cupboard, a paire of and-irons, and three little stooles, ... ii[l] x[s] 2 10 0

In the Still-house.

Item, Six stills, one old presse, cupboard, two tables, one forme, and lumber, . . . viii[l] 8 0 0

In the Maides Chamber.

Item, Two bedsteeds with curtaines and vallence of greene linsey-woolsey, two feather-beds, two bolsters, one downe-bed, one bolster, three blanketts, three ruggs, a sideboard, and an iron trunck, . . xvi[l] 16 0 0

In the Brushing Chamber over the Cellar.

Item, A pallat bedsteed, with a canapie, two curtaines, vallence, and a counter-point of red cloath, one feather-bed and bolster, an old quilt, and two blanketts, . . iiii[l] 4 0 0

In Mr Sadler's Chamber over the Cellar.

Item, Five peices of old tapestry hangings, a bedsteed and vallence, a mattresse, a

downe-bed and bolster, two pillowes, a Holland quilt, two blanketts, a rugg, two side-cupboards, one great leather chaire, two stooles, one table, one joyne stoole, a paire of small and-irons, and a fyre-shovell and tonge, ... xxv[l] 25 0 0

In the Chapell.

Item, Six low-backed chaires, twenty cushions, a pulpitt and table covered with quilt leather, eighteen service-bookes, a Bible, and twenty hessocks, . . xvi[l] 16 0 0

In the Backe Chamber.

Item, A library of bookes, ... x[l] 10 0 0

In the Kitchen.

Item, One long range, fower racks, two irons before the fyre, six spitts, foure dripping-panns, two frying-panns, a tinn callender, three boylers, two brasse potts, three panns, eleven skil-letts, two old brasse panns, two ladles, two scummers, and a brasse pot-lid, nyne chafing dishes. In pewter, foure flaggons, two dozen paire of candle-

sticks, new and old together; two dozen chamber-potts, twelve close-stoole panns and night-stooles, a pestle and morter, and about two hundred and eighty pound of pewter in dishes and plates, and eight warming-panns, . .	xlix[l] xii[s]	49	12	0

In the Brew-house.

Item, One great copper with tuns and collars belonging to it; forty hogsheads, with all other appurtences to the brew-house and cellar, ...	cxx[l]	120	0	0
Item, In linnen, ...	xl[l] v[s]	40	5	0

In the Lawndrey.

Item, Five wash-tubbs, a standing kunnell, a furnace, a trow, and other lumber, one boarded bedsteed, one featherbed, one bolster, and one old tapestry coverlett, ...	iii[l] xiiii[s] viii[d]	3	14	8

Att Fryer's House.

Item, In the parlour, two tables, three formes, and one cupboard, ...	xx[s]	1	0	0

In the Hall.

Item, One planke table, three old stooles, two and-irons, a fyre-shovell and tongs, one spitt, two paire of pot-hangers, a paire of bellowes, a brasse-pott and hookes, two brasse kettles, one skillett, one brasse ladle, one brasse furnice, one pewter flaggon, fower pewter dishes, one porringer, one frying-pann, one dripping-pan, one old ash-kettle, seaven cheese moles, seaven pailes, one hatchett, an axe, a lanthorne, and one salt-tubb, ...	v[l] x[s]	5	10 0

In the Milke-house.

Item, Two churmes, one stand, eighteene milke kunnells, one greate cheese tubb, one powdering tub, six butter ferkins, one butter stand, eight shelves, foure formes, one paire of butter scales and a pound weight, six bole dishes, three broath dishes, two fleeting dishes, six turning cloathes, and five wheying cloathes, ...	iii[l] x[s]	3	10 0

In the Bayliff's Chamber.

Item, Two old borded bedsteeds, one flock-bed, one bolster, one feather-bed and bolster, one blankett, two old plaine ruggs, one shelfe, two formes, one stoole, and one watch-bell, ...	iii[l]	3	0	0

In the Buttery.

Item, Three small skelings, two barrels, and a sling, ...	vi[s] viii[d]	0	6	8

In the Maides Chamber.

Item, One old halfe-headed bedsteed, one feather-bed, two feather bolsters, two old plaine ruggs, one old side-table, one forme, and one shelfe, ...	ii[l]	2	0	0

In the Cheese Chamber.

Item, One old cheese table, one hanging double shelfe, two small shelves, one forme, one trevitt, and one old bole, . .	vi[s] viii[d]	0	6	8

Item, Three paire of old sheets, ...	xv^{s}	£0	15	0
Item, All the wheate and meslin in the barnes, prized at	xxx^{l} x^{s}	30	10	0
Item, All the barley, threshed and unthreshed, ...	xlv^{l}	45	0	0
Item, All the hay, ...	xxx^{l}	30	0	0
Item, Two dung carts, two long carts, fower pair of wheeles, and two plowes, with the furniture, ...	x^{l} vi^{s}	10	6	0
Item, Two paire of harrowes, and three great rakes, ...	xviii^{s} vi^{d}	0	18	6
Item, Nyne oxen, two fill horses, their yoakes, chaines, and furniture, . . .	lv^{l} v^{s}	55	5	0
Item, Twenty acres of wheate sowne, ...	xl^{l}	40	0	0
Item, Thirty acres of oates and peas sowne, . .	xxx^{l}	30	0	0
Item, Twenty-seaven acres of tilt, ...	xx^{l} v^{s}	20	5	0
Item, Wood fell'd, ...	xx^{l}	20	0	0
Item, Thirty-one store cattell, ...	lxxvii^{l} x^{s}	77	10	0
Item, All the oates and peas threshed and unthreshed, ...	vii^{l} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}	7	13	4
Item, Seaventeene store hoggs, . . .	ix^{l} iii^{s} iiii^{d}	9	3	4
Item, Two sowes, with sixteene piggs, . . .	ii^{l}	2	0	0
Item, Malt, ...	xlv^{l}	45	0	0
Item, Hopp-poles, ...	viii^{l} x^{s}	8	10	0
Item, Plate, one thousand three hundred and sixteene ounces, at five shillings an ounce, comes to	cccxxix^{l}	329	0	0
Item, In ready money, ...	lxxxv^{l}	85	0	0
Item, His wearing-apparel, ...	c^{l}	100	0	0

Item, Debts due and owing to the said deceased, in the county of Gloucester,	dccc^{l}	0	0	800	0	0
Summa totalis hujus inv^{rii}. . . .	mmdccl^{l}	xi^{s}	ii^{d}	2750	11	2

Ex^{tum} fuit *Inventarium vicesimo octavo die mensis Maii, Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo primo per Mag^{rum} Johannem Rocke, not^{rium} pub^{cum}, nomine procurio administrat. &c. pro vero et pleno inv^{rio}. &c. sub protestatione tamen de addend. &c. si, &c.*

Simo Rolleston, *Reg^{rum}.*

No. II.

Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, giving an account of the State of the North of England in 1537. [See *Biographical Memoir.*] Caligula, Book II. p. 344. Cotton MSS. Mus. Brit.

Newcastell, 28 *Jan.*

My duetie remembered unto your good lordeshipp, it may please the same to be advertised, that, as I have occasion to wryte unto your lordeshipp, by the repayre of this berer, the capitayn of Berwyk's servante and chapleyn, so I am bolde (though I have no gret matier), to trouble your Lordeship, amongst your weightie affaires, with these my rude lettres; and forasmuch as I wrote unto your lordeship from Yorke, the success of my jorney thither, it may please you also, semblably, to here what state I have founde the countrey in betwixt Yorke and Newcastell, which, as I wrote unto your lordeship in my last lettres, was reported unto me at Yorke to be very wilde. Nevertheles, to declare the treweth as farre as I coulde perceyve thoroughout all the bishopricke as I rode, I saw the people to be in very good quyetnes; and none of the honest sorte, that had any thinge to lose, desiring the contrary, except such as having nothing of their owne, wolde be glad to have such a worlde as whereby they might have oportunytye to robbe and spoyle them that have; and that generally is the opynyon of all men in these parts; for undoubtedly the honest sorte of men throughout all this contrey do gretely desyre quyttnes; and yet there hath ben som stirrying in the bishopricke; and, not passing ii or iii dayes before my comyng, musters made in Cliveland uppon the hilles, which was by means of dyvers billes and scrowes sett uppon

posts and church-dores thoroughly out the bishoprieke, and tost and scatered abrode in the contrey by some sedyteous persons, which do nothing else but go up and downe to devise mischief and devision; and by such meanes it was putt into the hedds of the people, that my Lord of Norff. cam down with a grete armye and power to do execucion, and to hang and draw from Doncaster to Berwyke, in all places northwarde, notwithstanding the kinges pardon; and so the people thoroughout all the northe be brought in worse case then the Lincolnshire men: which tales and ymaginacions beyng so sowen amongst the people, did in such wyse styrre and incense them, that surely, as I am informed, had not Mr Bowes[1] com home when he did, it had ben very lyke to have made a new insurrection. Undoubtedly he hath well don his parte, as I have lerned of divers, in stayeing off the contrey thoroughout the hole bishopricke; and now they have taken such order, that whatsoever falsehods or reports, billes, lettres, or scrowes, shall be sowen abrode, they shal gyve no light credit unto them, but rather do their devoyres to apprehende the devysors and reporters of the same, and so the people be in good staye and quyetness in all places of the bishopricke; and fully determined, as Mr Bowes told me, to make no more assemblies, but to rest uppon my Lord of Norff. comyng. Syr, I saw no likelihood of any lyghtnes or desyre of devision amongst the people throughout the hole bishoprieke, which is a gret countrey, savyng in one towne, which is called Daryngton; and there I noted and perceyved the people to be very fykell. My chance was to come into the towne in the evenyng about vi of the clocke, or somewhat afore; and when I alyghted at my lodging, I think there was not passing iii or iiii persons standing about the inne doore, assur-

[1] This was probably Robert Caster, Sir Robert Bowes, a privy-counsellor, at different times warden of the Middle Marches. I believe Master of the Rolls. Several of his letters are preserved in the Lansdowne or Cotton MSS. Courage, sense, and loyalty, were hereditary in the family of Bowes for several descents. Sir George Bowes was nephew to Sir Robert.

ing your lordeshipp, that I was scant ascended up a payre of steres into my chaumber, but there was about xxx or xl persons assembled in the strete afore my chamber-wyndows, with clubbs and batts, and there they cam roonyng out of all quarters of the strete, and stode together on a plompe, whispering and rownding together; whereuppon I called unto me myn host, who seemed to be an honest man, and I asked him, what the people meant to assemble so together? he answered me, That when they saw or harde of any comyng out of the south, they used always so to gather togither to here newes. I told him it was ill suffered of them that were the heddes of the toune to let them make such unlawfull assemblies together in the strete; and that it was a very ill example, and harde to judge, what inconveniencys might followe, or what attemptats they wold enterprise when such a nomber of light plowes were assembled. He answered me by his faith, that the hedds of the towne could not rule them, ne durst, for their lyves, speke any fowle words to them: but, quod he, I thinke myselfe to be in som credite with them; and, quod he, ye shall see that I shall cause them to scatter abrode, and every man to go to his home by and by. Mary, quod I, if ye do well, ye shoulde set som of them by the heles. No, quod he, God defende; for so myght we bryng a thousande in our toppes within an hower; but, quod he, ye shall see me order them well ynough with fayre wordes; and thereuppon he went to the rowte in the strete, as they stode whispering togither, and, with his cappe in his hands, prayed them to leve their whispering, and every man to go home; and there come they all about him, and asked him who I was? whense I cam? and whither I wold? Myn hoste told them, that I was the kyng's servante, and going from his highnes in ambassade into Scotland: Whereunto one of them replyed, and sayed, That could not be true, for the Kyng of Scotts was in Fraunce. Nevertheles, in fine, myn host so pacyfyed them, that every man went his way; but moche ado he had, as he told me, to persuade them to beleve that I went into Scotland; and they all, with one voyce, ask-

ed, When my Lorde of Norff. wold com, and with what company? And so myn host cam to me, as a messenger from them, to know the trewth; and I sent them worde that he wold be at Danncaster on Candlemas even; and that he brought no more with him but his owne household servants; which pleased them wonderous well; and so every man departed, and I harde no more of them. I assure your lordship the people be very tykell, and, methinketh, in a marvellous straunge case and perplexite; for they stare and loke for things, and fayne wold have they cannot tell what. So as, in my poure opynyon, it requyreth a gret diligence and circumspection for the edefyeing and establishing of them; which aperteyning to the office of a prynce and kyng, it becometh not me to talke of; not doubting but our most gracious Prynce and Sovereign Lorde, with the mature advysement of his Most Honourable Counsaile, will so provyde for the same as shall apperteyne.

At Duresme I found Mr Bowes, who, I assure you, ceaseth not to go from place to place thoroughout all the countrey, and hathe brought the people in good stay and quyetnes. To say myn opynyon, I thinke if he and other gentilmen of the countrey had don so at the first, this had never ben any insurrection. Sir, on Fryday last I arryved in Newcastell, where I assure your lordship I have ben well enterteyned for the kynge sake, both of the mayor and the aldermen; and at this tyme, I assure your lordeship, they have shewed themselffe honest, faithfull, and trew men to the kynge: for albeit the commons of the towne, at the first begynning of this tumult, were very unruly, and as moche disposed to sedicion and rebellion as they of the countrey were, and wold have rysen with them, yet I assure your lordship, the mayor and alderman, and other the heddes of the towne, did so, with wisdome and manhod, handle the commons of the same, that they did fully reconcile them, and so handled them, that in fyne they were determyned to lyve and dye with the mayor and his brethren in the defence and kepying of the towne, to the kynges use against all his enemyes and rebells, as indede they did. The towne of itself is surely a

strong towne; and the mayor,[1] I assure your lordeship, is a wyse fellowe, and a substanceyall. He and James Lawson, who is one of the aldermen, brought me uppon the walles of the towne, which I assure your lordeship be very strong; and there they shewed me how they had fortefyed the towne. All along the walles lay sundry peices of ordenances; and at every gate of the towne they kepte watche and warde, and yet do; every gate-house is full of bowes, arrowes, billes, and other abillements of warre; and uppon every gate lay, in the towres, gret peces of ordenances, which wold scoure every way a myle or ii and more; all which ordenance they told me that every merchant, for his parte, brought out of their shippes. They made also new gates of yron uppon their bridg; and be victualled within the towne, they thinke, for a hole yere. I assure your lordeship they have don their parts very honestly; and have, in myn opynyon, deserved moche thanke, praise, and comendacion. And it might plese the kynges highnes to sende them a lettre of thanks, it wold gretely encourage them, for surely they have deserved thanke, and ben at gret charge for the defence and fortificacions of the towne. Syr, uppon myn arryval here, I was advertysed by the capitayn of Berwyk, that my saufe conduct will not be had out of Scotland afore Thursday; which is by meane that the chauncellor of Scotland is out of the way in his countrey, and unto soch tyme, as he comes to Edynburgh, where the rest of the counsaile is, there wilbe no saufe conduct gotten.

The capitayn of Berwyke is at Tynmouth, within six miles of Newcastell, and hath sent me worde that he will to-morrow be with me at Newcastell; at which tyme I shall not fayle to delyver him

[1] The mayor of Newcastell mentioned by Sadler, was probably John Sanderson (1537). James Lawson, alderman, had (not improbably for his loyal exertions on this or other occasions), several beneficial grants or purchases of church-lands, viz. the in Newcastle, Nesham Abbey, Co. Pal. where the unfortunate fate of his descendants might furnish an additional chapter to Spelman's Treatise on Sacrilege.

your lordeship's lettres; and further declare unto him such credence as you have commytted unto me uppon the same: That don, I shall addresse myselfe to Berwyke, where I thinke I shall be ii dayes before my sauf conduct com out of Scotland, and yet my servants hathe ben there this sevennight to procure the same; but I perceyve that now, in the king's absence, they be very daungerous in granting of sauf-conducts.

Assone as I can get it, I will lose no tyme, God willing. I am sure your lordeshipp thinketh that I will make as moche haste home as I can; and that I love home too well to tarry any longer thens than I may not chuse; and nevertheles shall take such tyme and opportunyte for the expedycion ther as shall apperteyn. My busynes being don I shall not faile to retorne with suche speede as I may conveniently, our Lorde willinge, who preserve your L. in long lief and good helth, with moch honour. At Newcastell, the xxviii. day of January. With the rude and hastie hande of

Your Lordshipp's olde servante,
and daylie bedisman,
RAFE SADLEYR.

Postscripta. Arrived here with me, the capitayn of Berwyke, unto whom I delyvered your lordeshipp's lettres, and the king's highnes lettres, addressed to the Pereyes; and also declared unto him my credence, touching the handeling of that matier. Assuring your lordeshipp, that notwithstanding your commandiments to have the matier so secretly handeled, the capitayne told me, that he had knowlege, by one or ii gentelmen of the contrey, almost a sevennight ago, that such a matier shold be commytted unto him; whereof I mervaile. He thinketh that it was vouched by Mr Sir Raynold Carnaby. Nevertheles, he intendeth to cause the said lettres to be delyvred to the Pereyes with as moche spede as conveniently may be; and, if the case so requyre, to execute the rest according to the king's pleasure and com-

mandement. The said capitayn told me further, that he harde say the said Percyes were preparing themselffe to mete with my Lorde of Norff. at Dauncaster. It was also told me this day, in Newcastell, that the Quene of Scotts should be entered into a religious house of systers in Scotland, and was becom a syster in the same; which I take to be no gospell.

No. III.

Genealogy of the Descendants of Sir Ralph Sadler.

There is an honourable pride of pedigree, which, like many other mixed passions, fortifies the cause of virtue, though it is not her immediate offspring. It is indeed a part of our nature, that, as fathers, we fondly anticipate a long and flourishing descent; and, as children, look back with complacence upon the virtues and fame of our progenitors. If this feeling admits of misapplication, and becomes the ground of a childish assumption of superiority, instead of an incentive to generous emulation, it only resembles our other passions and propensities, which are alike capable of being guides to good or evil, as the habits and principles of individuals shall decide.

The following account of Sir Ralph Sadler's descendants has been compiled from the common authorities, compared with and corrected by three family genealogies. One of these appears to have been drawn up for the use of Sir Edwin Sadler, Baronet, who died in 1706; and the editor was permitted to the use of it by Richard Vernon Sadler, Esq. of Southampton. The second, which is fuller, though of more modern date, was kindly sent to the editor by —— Sadler, Esq. of Seabank, near Swords, in Ireland. The third is that of the representative of the baronial family of Aston, drawn up by Edmund Lodge, Esq. These pedigrees agree in general, but such discrepances as occur between them, are noted below.

The three surviving branches of Sir Ralph Sadler's family are: I. The Cliffords of Tixall, descended from his grand-daughter and sole heiress, Gertrude, Lady Aston. II. The elder branch of the Sadlers of Temple Dinesley, second son of Sir Ralph. III. The younger branch of the same family, who became Sad-

lers of Sopwell in Ireland. These three lineages are, therefore, separately traced in the following genealogy.

Clifford of Tixall.

1. Sir Ralph Sadleir married Elen. Barre, *aliter* Mitchell, a near relative to Lord Cromwell, by whom he had issue three sons, viz. Thomas, Edward of Temple Dinesley, (from whom the families of Sadler of Sopwell, Wiltshire, and Sopwell in Ireland are descended), and Henry of Everly, near Hungerford, in Wiltshire; and four daughters, namely, Anne, married to Sir George Horsey of Digwell; Mary, married to Thomas Bollys, *aliter* Bowles of Wallington; Jane, married to Edward Baesh of Stansted, Esq.; and Dorothy, who married Edward Elrington of Berstall, county of Berks. He died 30th March, 1587.

2. Sir Thomas Sadleir, his eldest son and heir, was sheriff of the county of Herts in 37th Eliz. He first married Ursula, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Sherrington of Lacock, in the county of Wilts, by whom he had no issue. By his second wife, Gertrude, daughter of Robert Markham of Cotham in Nottinghamshire, he had issue one son, Ralph, and one daughter, Gertrude. James I., on his journey from Scotland to London, A. D. 1603, was magnificently entertained by him at Standon for two nights successively. He died 6th January 1606; and the following inscription was placed on his monument at Standon:

D. O. M.

et

Memoriæ Thomæ Sadleiri Equitis Aurati
Hic situs obdormit Christo, Christoque resurgat
Thomas Sadleirus stemmate claris eques
Quo micuere simul bonitas, prudentia, candor,
Cum probitate pudor, cum pietate fides.
Hæc illum decorant, hæc sunt monumenta sepulti
Qui Tumulo decus est et fuit ante suis

Attamen hoc posuit monumentum filius illi
Ut constet pietas officiosa patri.

Under this inscription lies a knight in armour, with a lady on his right hand, and two lions rampant at their feet. The effigies of his son and daughter are placed under them, upon their knees, with this inscription between them on the side of the monument: "Here resteth, in sure hope of resurrection in Christ, Sir Thomas Sadleir of Standon, knight, son and heir of the Right Hon. Sir Ralph Sadleir, knight-banneret, privy-counsellor to three princes of the land; which Sir Thomas lived in honourable reputation, for his religion, justice, bounty, love to his country, favour of learning, and all other virtues; and as he lived, he ended his life most christianly, leaving Ralph and Gertrude, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Robert Markham, in the county of Nottingham, Esq. To whose memory, Ralph, his sorowfull son, in dutifull affection, erected this monument as his last duty. He departed this world, 5th January 1606."

3. Ralph Sadleir, his only son and heir, succeeded him. He married Anne Paston, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Coke (Lord Lovall), by his first marriage with Bridget, daughter and co-heir of John Paston of Huntingfield, in Suffolk, third son of Sir William Paston of Paston, knight, whose portion amounted to £30,000, and who was related to many noble families; her aunt, Eleanore, sister to her father, being married to Thomas Earl of Rutland, by whom she had Henry Earl of Rutland. Gertrude married to George Talbott Earl of Shrewsbury; Anne, to Henry Nevil Earl of Westmorland; and Frances, wife to Henry Nevil, Lord Abergavenny. Ralph Sadleir died without issue 12th February 1660. No monument has been erected for him, unless it was one that stands at the east side of the chancel, of which the brass has been taken away. But in the vestry a small monument of black and white marble is placed in the wall, bearing the following inscription:

"Here lieth the body of Anne Coke, eldest daughter of Sir Edward

Coke, knight, Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, by his first and best wife Bridget Paston, daughter and heir of John Paston of Norfolk, Esq. At the age of fifteen she was married, in 1601, to Ralph Sadler of Standon, in Hertfordshire. She lived his wife 59 years and odd months. She survived him, and here lies in assured hope of a joyful resurrection."

His sister Gertrude succeeded as heir to Ralph Sadleir, on his death *sans* issue. She married Sir Walter Aston[1] of Tixall, in Staffordshire, Bart.; who was baptised at Charlecote, July 9. 1584; one of the first-created baronets, and raised to the dignity of Baron Aston of Forfar, in kingdom of Scotland, on the 8th of November 1627. He died the 13th August 1639, and was buried at Stafford. He had issue five sons and five daughters: 1. Walter, who died young; 2. Walter, who married, in 1629, Mary, second daughter of Richard Weston Earl of Portland, and succeeded to all the Sadleir estates, the succession of which had been limited, by Sir R. Sadleir, to his eldest son Thomas, and his third son Henry;[2] 3. Herbert, who married Katharine, sister to Sir John Thimelby of Irnham, county of Lincoln; 4. Thomas, who died in his infancy; and, 5. John, who married, but left no issue. His daughters were; 1. Gertrude, who died young; 2. Honoria, died an infant at Vittoria in Spain, her father being ambassador to the Spanish court; she was brought over and buried at St Martin's in the Fields; 3. Frances, married Sir William Persall of Canwell, Staffordshire; 4. Gertrude,

[1] He was grandson of Sir Walter Aston of Tixall in Staffordshire, knight, who had by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Leveson of Lilshull in that county, six sons, Sir Edward, Robert, Richard, William Aston of Milwich in the county of Stafford, Devereux, and Hastings; and five daughters. Sir Edward, his heir, who died in 1598, married twice: by his first wife, Mary, fourth daughter of Sir John Spencer, he had only one child, a son, who died an infant: by the second, Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote in Warwickshire, he had Walter; Edward, who married Anne, only daughter of Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesley in Hertfordshire, who was second son of Sir Ralph; Thomas, an utter barrister of the Temple, who died unmarried; Joyce, wife of Sir Martin Colepeper of Deane, in the county of Oxford; Elizabeth, Anne, and Jane.

[2] Vid. Will in writ. *de inquisitione post mortem.*

married to Henry Thimelby, brother of Sir John; 5. Constantia, married Sir Robert Fowler of St Thomas's, county of Stafford.

5. Walter, second Lord Aston, died in 1678, aged 69, was buried at Stafford, April 25. in that year, and had issue by his wife Mary, above mentioned, four sons and five daughters: 1. Walter, who married Eleanore, youngest daughter of Sir Walter Blount of Sodington, county of Worcester, and widow of Robert Knightly of Off-church, county of Warwick; 2. Thomas, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ogle of Tissington, county of Northumberland, by whom he had no issue; 3. Charles, died an infant; and 4. William, who died without issue. His daughters were; 1. Elizabeth, married Sir John Southcote of Westham, county of Surrey; 2. Frances, married Sir Edward Gage of Rengrave, county of Suffolk, baronet; 3. Gertrude, and 4. Mary, died infants; 5. Anne, who married Henry Somerset, son and heir to John Lord Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.

6. Walter, third Lord Aston, died November 14. 1714, was buried at Standon, and had issue by his wife Eleanore, five sons and two daughters: 1. Edward Walter, who died at Clarmont College in Paris; 2. Francis, died in 1694, and is buried at Standon; 3. Walter; 4. Charles, killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, 1690; and 5. William, who died an infant. His daughters: 1. Mary, who died unmarried; and, 2. Katharine, died an infant. After the death of Eleanore, Lord Aston married Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Gage of Firles, county of Sussex, who died April 2. 1720, and was buried at Standon, county of Herts, without issue.

Walter, fourth Lord Aston, married Lady Mary Howard, only sister to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and by her, (who died May 23. 1723, in childbirth of her 11th child,) he had issue: Walter, born Feb. 16. 1711, died June 19. 1717; 2. James, his heir; 3. Charles, born March 19. 1719, died April 12. 1730; 4. Mary, born Oct. 27. 1703, died Dec. 10. 1704; 5. Anne, born April 4., and died July 24. 1705; 6. Catherine, born March 7. 1706, who married Edward Weld, of Lulworth Castle, in the county of Dorset, and died Oct. 25. 1739; 7. Another Mary, who was born May 31. 1709, and died April 1712; 8. Eleanor,

born May 22. 1717, died April 12. 1727; 9. Margery, who was living unmarried, July 4. 1746, as appears by her father's will of that date. Of the two remaining children of the eleven, who probably died unbaptised, we have no intelligence. Walter, fourth Lord Aston, died April 4. 1748, aged 88 years, and was buried at Standon.

James, the fifth Lord Aston, married at Standon, June 30. 1742, Lady Barbara Talbot, daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury, and by her had two daughters, Mary and Barbara. 1. Mary, born at Standon, August 14. 1743, and was married, at Worksopmanor, county of Nottingham, to Sir Walter Blount of Mawley, in Worcestershire, by whom she had three sons; 1. Walter, married Anne, daughter of Ralph Riddell, Esq. of Felton Park, and left one son, the present Sir Edward Blount. 2. Edward Blount, Esq. of Bellamore, in Staffordshire, married Mary, daughter of Francis Wright, Esq. 3. George Blount, Esq. married Miss Courtenay Chichester, daughter of John Chichester, Esq. of Arlington, in Devonshire. The Honourable Mary Aston, Lady Blount, was most unfortunately burnt to death at the house of her son, George Blount, Esq. in the year 1804.

2. Barbara, was married at St James's, Westminster, February 2. 1762, to the Honourable Thomas Clifford, son of Hugh, third Lord Clifford, and by him had thirteen children: 1. Thomas Clifford, Esq. of Tixall, in Staffordshire, married Miss Mary Chichester, daughter of John Chichester, Esq. of Arlington, in Devonshire, by Miss Mary Macdonald, daughter of Macdonald, Esq. of Keppoch, (who was executed at Carlisle for having joined the standard of the unfortunate Prince Charles, in 1745), and has issue one son, Thomas Aston Clifford, and two daughters. 2. Edward, died an infant. 3. Henry. 4. Walter, died in the Jesuits College at Palermo, in Sicily, in 1806. 5. James. 6. & 7. Arthur and Lewis, twins. The latter died in 1806. 8. George. 9. Barbara, died 1792. 10. Mary, married Charles, eldest son of Sir William Wolsley, Baronet. 11. Anne. 12. Lucy, married Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Wild, Esq. of Lulworth Castle, in Dorsetshire. 13. Constantia. The

Honourable Barbara Aston died in 1786, and the Honourable Thomas Clifford the year following. [1]

Sadler of Temple Dinesley in Hertfordshire.

2. Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesly, *aliter* Denesley, in Hertfortshire, the second son of Sir Ralph Sadler, knight-banneret, married Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Leigh, knight, of Sopwell, near St Alban's, county of Hertford, to whom she was sole heiress after the death of Dame Mary, relict of Sir Humphrey Coningsby, knight, her other sister, without issue. He thus acquired a very large inheritance, together with the addition of the bearings of Chute and Trott, besides

[1] The heirs-male of the body of Walter, first Lord Aston, having thus failed, the title devolved on Philip, son and heir of Walter Aston, by Penelope, daughter of John Whitfield of the city of Lincoln; which Walter was son and heir of Edward Aston of Milwich, by Dorothy, daughter of Richard Elde of Leighford, in the county of Stafford; which last named Edward was son and heir of William Aston of Milwich (who was, as we have seen in note 1. of page 605, fourth son of Sir Walter Aston, who was grandfather to the first lord,) by Elizabeth, daughter of Waldive Willington of Harley, county of Warwick: —— Philip, the sixth lord, was born in the parish of St Giles's-in-the-Fields, Aug. 3. 1709, and, dying unmarried April 29. 1755, was succeeded by his only brother Walter, seventh Lord Aston, who was born in the parish of St Giles's aforesaid, Feb. 24. 1712, and died, also unmarried, March 25. 1763. He was buried, as was his predecessor, in the burial-ground of St George the Martyr. He was succeeded by Walter, his first cousin and heir-male, who was born Oct. 10. 1732, the son and heir of Edward Aston, by Anne, daughter of Thomas Bayley of Stafford; which Edward was next brother to Walter, lately mentioned as the father of the sixth and seventh Lords Aston. Walter, the eighth Lord Aston, married at Hampstead, county of Middlesex, May 28. 1766, Anne, daughter of Peter Hutchinson of Gales, county of York; and, dying July 29. 1805, was buried in Grosvenor Chapel, having had issue Walter Hutchinson, the present lord; William Bayley Aston, supposed to have been lost on board the Foulis East Indiaman in 1791; and a daughter, Elizabeth Jane, who died an infant in 1768. —— Walter Hutchinson, ninth Lord Aston, in holy orders, was baptised at St George's, Hanover Square, Sept. 15. 1769, and married, June 14. 1802, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathan Haines, D. D. by Susan his wife, sister of the late Sir George Chudleigh of Haldown House, in the county of Devon, Bart., by whom his lordship has at present no issue.

her paternal coat, now worn by this branch of the family. He had issue (as appears by writt *de inquisitione post mortem*, at Hertford, 2d Dec. 35th Eliz.) 1. Leigh, of Temple Dennesley and Aspley Guise; 2. Richard of Sopwell, ancestor of the branch of Sopwell in Ireland; 3. 4. Edward and Thomas, who died unmarried. Edward Sadleir died 4th April, 26th Eliz., in the lifetime of his father Sir Ralph, leaving Ann his wife, who soon after married Ralph Norwich, Esq., but had no issue.

3. Leigh Sadleir, his eldest son, succeeded him at Temple Dinesley, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Pascall, in Essex, gentleman, by whom he had Thomas and Ann. The latter married the Honourable Edward Aston, brother of Walter Lord Aston.

4. Thomas Leigh Sadleir, married Frances Berry of Bickering Park, county of Bedford, by whom he had issue four-and-twenty children, whereof eight sons and five daughters are upon record in the Herald's Office, viz. 1. Thomas, who died under age; 2. Edwin; 3. Ralph, who died unmarried; 4. Leigh; 5. Edward, who died without issue; 6. William; 7. Richard; and 8. Robert, who both died without issue. The daughters, Elizabeth, Frances, Anne, Jane, and Sarah. Thomas Sadler, Esq. was trained up to the study of the laws in the Inner Temple, and rose to the dignity of Serjeant of Laws, and Justice of Quorum for the county of Bedford, where, till the time of his death, he usually resided. He lived in the intimacy of Francis Earl of Bedford, and died in his 70th year of age, 1658. His wife Frances survived him many years.

5. Edwin, his second son, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Walter Walker knight, Doctor of Laws, by whom he had issue four sons and two daughters, viz. 1. Walter and 2. Ralph, who both died young; 3. Edwin; 4. Thomas, died under age; Mary, married to Edward Brereton, eldest son of Edward Brereton of Burhas, county of Denbigh, Esq.; and Elizabeth, who died under age. He sometime

studied the laws in the Inner Temple, was afterwards commander of a troop of horse, and subsequently justice of peace for the county of Bedford. From thence he removed to Temple Dinesley, was created baronet, by letters patent, dated 3d Dec. 15th Car. II., and died A. D. 1672.

6. Edwin, his third son, succeeded to the honours and estate. He married Mary, relict of William Croon, M. D. and co-heir of John Lorimer, citizen and apothecary of London, who fined for alderman of that city. He died 30th Sept. 1706, without issue. [1]

[1] The following extract from the manuscripts of Anthony a Wood, relates to the armorial bearing of this Sir Edwin Sadleir, Baronet: MS. of Anthony a Wood, marked F. 3. fo. 57. " Or, a lyon rampant pr Fess azure and gules, is the coate of Sir Edwin Sadleir, late of Temple Dinesley, in the county of Hertford, and now of London, Baronet; who married Mary, daughter and co-heir of John Lorymer, citizen and apothecary of London; descended of the ancient family of Lorymer in Hampshire. He was fourth son and heir to Sir Edwin Sadleir of Temple Dinesley aforesaid, created baronet by King Charles II. the 3d of December 1661; which Sir Edwin last mentioned was second son and heir to Thomas Leigh Sadleir of Aspley-Guise, in the county of Bedford, who was much esteemed for his profound learning and knowledge.

" This Thomas Leigh was the only son and heir of Leigh Sadleir, who was eldest son and heir of Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesley and Aspley Guise aforesaid, who took to wife Anne, daughter and sole heir of Sir Richard a Leigh, an eminent warrior and favourite of King Henry VIII. and in her right had great possessions.

" This Edward was a younger brother to Sir Thomas Sadleir, who for two nights magnificently entertained King James I. and his royal train, at his seat at Standon, in the said county of Hertford, when he came to the possession of the crown of England. Sir Thomas left but one son, Ralph Sadleir of Standon aforesaid, much famed for his hospitality and bounty; who died without issue.

" The above-mentioned Edward was second son to Sir Ralph Sadleir, created knight-banneret (in way of reward) at the battle of Muscleborough, near Edingburgh, in Scotland, (the last of that order created for service performed against a common enemy). He was brought up under, and secretary to, the politick Thomas Cromwell Earle of Essex, one of the principal Secretaries of State to King Hennery the Eighth; which said prince

5. Leigh, fourth son of Thomas, (and brother to Edwin first baronet) married Mary, daughter of George Haddon of Kingham, county

conferred the same post on the said Sir Ralph, and made him one of his privy councell in the 30th year of his reign; and relyed much upon his advice in matters of the greatest importance; especially in the affairs betwen England and Scotland, in which he employed him in diverse embassies of the most weighty concearne both in war and peace. As a further mark of his royal favour [he] made him one of the supervisors of his will. In King Edward the Sixth's time, he held the same place and high esteem; but in Queen Mary's reign resigned, and dwelt private at his seat at Standon.

"In the first of Queen Elizabeth, he was again sworne one of the privy-councell; and in the tenth, made chancellor of the Dutchey of Lancaster; which stations he held to his decease. He was a privy-councellor for above 40 years, in the several reigns of Henery the VIII., Edward the VI., and Queen Elizabeth; and, for the most part of the time, a constant member of parliament for the county of Hertford, and allways faithfull to his prince and countrey, and a great promoter of the reformation of the Church of England. He died, aged 80, at Standon; possessed a noble estate, which he had got honestly, enjoyed honourabley, and then left intire to his posterity; viz. Twenty-three mannors, several parsonages, and other great parcels of land, dispersed in [the] several counties of Glouceste, Warwick, Bucks, Worcester, and Hertford. Being descended of an ancient family, seated at Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, and where himself was borne.

"George Sadleir of Aspley Guise, aforesaid, is also of the same family, being only son and heir of Leigh Sadleir, who was son of Leigh, fourth son to the above-mentioned Thomas Leigh Sadleir. The said George intermarried with Jane Stileman, neice of John Stileman of London, merchant, by whom he had issue George and Jane.

"The above-mentioned coate was an alteration from another too much confused mixture of too many things in one shield, by Robert Cook Clarencieux, and William Flower Norry, who ratified and assigned the said coate the 4th February 1575, in the 18th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, (in lieu of the afore-mentioned confused beareing, which was granted by Christopher Barker Garter, by his letters patent, dated the 14th May, in the 34th year of the reign of King Henery the VIII.), to Sir Ralph Sadleir of Standon, in the county of Hertford, knight, made banneret at the battle of Muscleborough in Scotland, and, at the date hereof, chancellor of the dutchey of Lancaster, and one of the Queen's most honourable privy council, who had enjoyed the said alteration."

of Oxon., by whom he had one son George, and one daughter Mary; who married Gillett.)[1]

6. George, his only son, married Jane, daughter and co-heir of Francis Styleman of London, and had issue, George and Jane. He died in London A. D. 1746.

7. George, married Charlotte Lucy, only daughter of Major William Cleland, who died in the East Indies. This George also died in his passage from thence in 1752.

5. William, sixth son of Thomas, (and brother to the first Sir Edwin) married Sarah, daughter of Jasper Symonds, rector of Daventry, county of Northampton; and had issue three sons, Thomas, Ralph, and Francis.

6. Thomas, eldest son of William, married Mary, daughter of Robert Smith of Bolton, in Bedfordshire; and had issue, Robert and James.

7. Robert, his eldest son, married Frances, daughter of William Hancock of Southampton, by whom he had one son James, who died at Pennington, near Lymington, 24th Feb. 1788, without issue. Robert, secondly, married Elizabeth, younger daughter of Robert Vernon alderman of Southampton, and had issue by her three sons and one daughter, viz. 1. Robert-Smith, died young; 2. Richard Vernon; 3. Thomas, who died 12th October 1785, without issue. Robert Sadleir died in August 1778, in the 89th year of his age.

[1] This is the account given in the genealogy of Mr Sadleir of Southampton. In that of the Irish branch, Leigh Sadleir, fourth son of Thomas, is said to have had issue one son, Leigh Sadleir, who was living in 1672 in London, and married to Mary Haddon, daughter of George Haddon of Kingham, co. Oxon, by whom he had three sons, Thomas, Ralph, and William; of whose progeny the genealogist professes himself ignorant, but supposes them to have been the ancestors of three families, descendants of Sir Ralph Sadleir, one of which is settled at Apsley Guise, one in Warwickshire, and the third in Hampshire. —See the extract from Anthony Wood, in the preceding note.

8. Richard Vernon Sadler, his second son, a widower of great age, living at Southampton, is the present male representative of the family.

Sadler of Sopwell in Ireland.

3. Richard Sadleir of Sopwellbury, second son of Edward Sadleir of Temple Dinesley, and grandson to Sir Ralph, married Joyce, daughter of Robert Honeywood of Charing, in Kent. He died in 1624, and had issue: 1. Robert; 2. Raphael,[1] and 3. Richard, died unmarried, the latter in 1669; 4. Thomas; 5. Edward; 6. Blount; 7. Henry, who died without issue: and three daughters, Mary, Dorothy, and Margaret.

4. His eldest son, Robert Sadleir, married Helen Dickenson, daughter of Thomas Dickenson of Hollingden, county of Middlesex, and died 21st Car. II., leaving an only daughter, viz. Helen Sadleir, who married Thomas Saunders of Beechwood, county of Herts, by whom she had an only daughter, namely Anne, who married Edward Seabright of Bessford, Esq.[2]

Thomas Sadleir, fourth son to Richard, died, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Alice. The latter married ——— Hosse, Esq.[3]

[1] Raphael, and the three daughters, are not mentioned in the genealogy of Mr Sadler of Southampton.

[2] This is the account given in the genealogy of the Irish branch. According to that quoted in the preceding note, this Robert married Ellen, daughter of Thomas Bancroft of Santonhouse in Norfolk; and had issue three sons, Edward, Robert, and Thomas, who all died without issue.

[3] According to the Southampton Genealogy, Thomas married Ann, daughter of ———

Edward Sadler, fourth son of Richard, married Susan daughter of Frances Underwood of Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely. According to the genealogy transmitted from Ireland, where the name of his wife is not mentioned, he had two daughters, viz. Anne, married to ——— Peapis, Esq., and another married to ——— Leaver. The genealogy of Mr Sadler of Southampton gives him four daughters, but does not mention their names.

Blount, sixth son to the said Richard Sadleir, (styled in the will of his father, citizen of London) married Mary, daughter of Thomas Sharp of London. He left issue, according to the genealogy of the Irish branch, one son, viz.

5. Thomas Sadleir, who was lieutenant-general and adjutant of the Irish brigade, A. D. 1647. He married ——— Honiwood, and went over to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell. A patent, dated 19th Car. II. granting lands in the counties of Tipperary and Galway, to Colonel Sadler, is in the possession of his descendant the Earl of Charleville. It directs, that the lands of Killnagha (pronounced Kilnelagh), should thenceforth bear the name of Sopwell-Hall. He was knight of the county of Tipperary till his death, which happened about the year 1680. He left issue one son, Thomas, and four daughters: 1. Eliza-

Goodrich of St Albans, relict of ——— Stead, Hertfordshire; and had issue one son, Thomas, of Ballingar and Kilnalla, county of Tipperary, in Ireland. The latter married Frances, daughter of Robert Olliver of Clonel, county of Limerick, Ireland, and had issue three sons; Thomas, living in 1692, at the age of 12 years; Charles, then 8 years old; and Robert, then 6 years old; and three daughters, who were all unmarried in 1692.

[t] His issue is very differently stated in the account transmitted from Southampton. According to this he had three sons: 1. Thomas; 2. Blount, living in 1692; 3. Ralph, in 1692, a sea-captain at Rotherhithe. The first son, Thomas, was living in 1692, at Barbadoes; and married the widow of Colonel Salter of that island, and had issue two daughters; Anne, two years old in 1692; 2. Elizabeth, born in that year. This genealogy does not bring the account of the Irish branch further than 1692.

beth, married to John Briggs of Dunstable, county of Bedford, and of Castletown, county of Tipperary. His second daughter married Colonel Daniel Abbot of Nenagh, in the same county. The third married Henry Foxwell, *aliter* Fox of Foxglade, county of Ebor., and of Graigue, in the county of Tipperary. The fourth married —— —— Ormsby of the same county.

6. Thomas Sadleir, only son of the above, married Mary Oliver, daughter to Charles Oliver of Kilmallock, county of Limerick, and died A. D. 1710, leaving issue Thomas, Charles, and Robert; and two daughters, Bridget, who died unmarried; and Anne, married to William Vaughan of Golden Grove, in the King's county, Ireland.

7. Thomas Sadleir, his eldest son, married Katherine Tilson, and had issue Francis, his only son.

8. Francis married Catherine Wall, daughter of William Wall of Coolnamuck, county of Waterford. He died 14th December 1797, and left issue two daughters, viz.

9. 1. Mary Sadleir, married to Frederick Trench of Woodlawn, county of Galway, in Ireland, whose son is the present Lord Ashtown.

9. 2. Katherine Sadleir, married first to William Charles Bury of Charleville, King's county, whose son is the present Lord Charleville; and, secondly, to Henry Pretty of Killboy, county of Tipperary; by whom she had issue Henry, now Lord Donally.

7. Charles Sadleir, second son to Thomas, married Margery Baldwin, daughter to Thomas Baldwin of Corolanty, in the King's county, Esq., and died in 1725, leaving issue one son, viz.

8. Charles Sadleir, married to Abigail Grave, daughter to the Reverend Joseph Grave of Ballycommon, in the King's county. He died 26th October 1756, leaving an only son, viz.

9. Thomas Sadleir of Castletown, county of Tipperary, and of Seapark, county of Dublin, barrister-at-law. He married, 1. Rebecca

Woodward, eldest daughter to William Woodward of Cloughprior, county of Tipperary, Esq. by whom he hath issue two sons, namely,

10. Thomas, now paymaster to his Majesty's 99th regiment of foot, and the Reverend Francis Sadleir, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; and three daughters, viz. Anna-Maria, Sarah, and Katharine Sadleir.—2dly. Florence Atkinson, daughter of Charles Atkinson of Camgart, in the King's county, by whom he hath issue four sons; Charles, James Edwin, William, and Anthony Sadleir; and three daughters, Mary, Anne, and Jane Henrietta Sadleir.

Sadleir of Everly, county of Wilts.

2. Henry Sadleir, third son of Sir Ralph, (according to the genealogy of Mr Sadler of Southampton, [1]) married Dorothy, daughter of —— Gilbert of Everley, and had three sons: 1. Thomas, and, 2. Henry, who both died without issue; and, 3. Francis.

3. Francis married Lucretia, daughter of Hercules Stourton of Little Langford, Wilts, and had issue five sons: 1. Stourton, and, 2. Henry, both died without issue; 3. Thomas; 4. Francis; 5. Giles, died without issue; and four daughters.

[1] The genealogy of the Irish branch differs widely with regard to Henry Sadleir and his descendants. According to that account, he married, first, Dorothy, daughter of —— Gilbert of Everly, near Hungerford, and had issue by her, Gertrude, Grace, and Helen, and two sons, Thomas and Henry; all of whom died in their infancy. He, secondly, married Ursula, daughter of Jo. Gill of Wideal, by whom he had no issue.

4. Thomas, his third son, married Mary, daughter of —— Draper, and had three sons, Thomas, Hercules, and Stourton.

4. Francis, fourth son of Francis, married Judith, daughter of Jerome Massell of Steple-Langford, Wilts; and had four sons, Francis, William, Jerome, and Stourton, all three living in 1694.

6. Francis, the eldest son, married Alice, daughter of Thomas Rose of Devizes, and had two sons, Francis Ally at Devizes, and Thomas; and one daughter, Alice, all living in 1694.

I know not if any descendants of this branch of Sir Ralph's family be now existing.

No. IV.

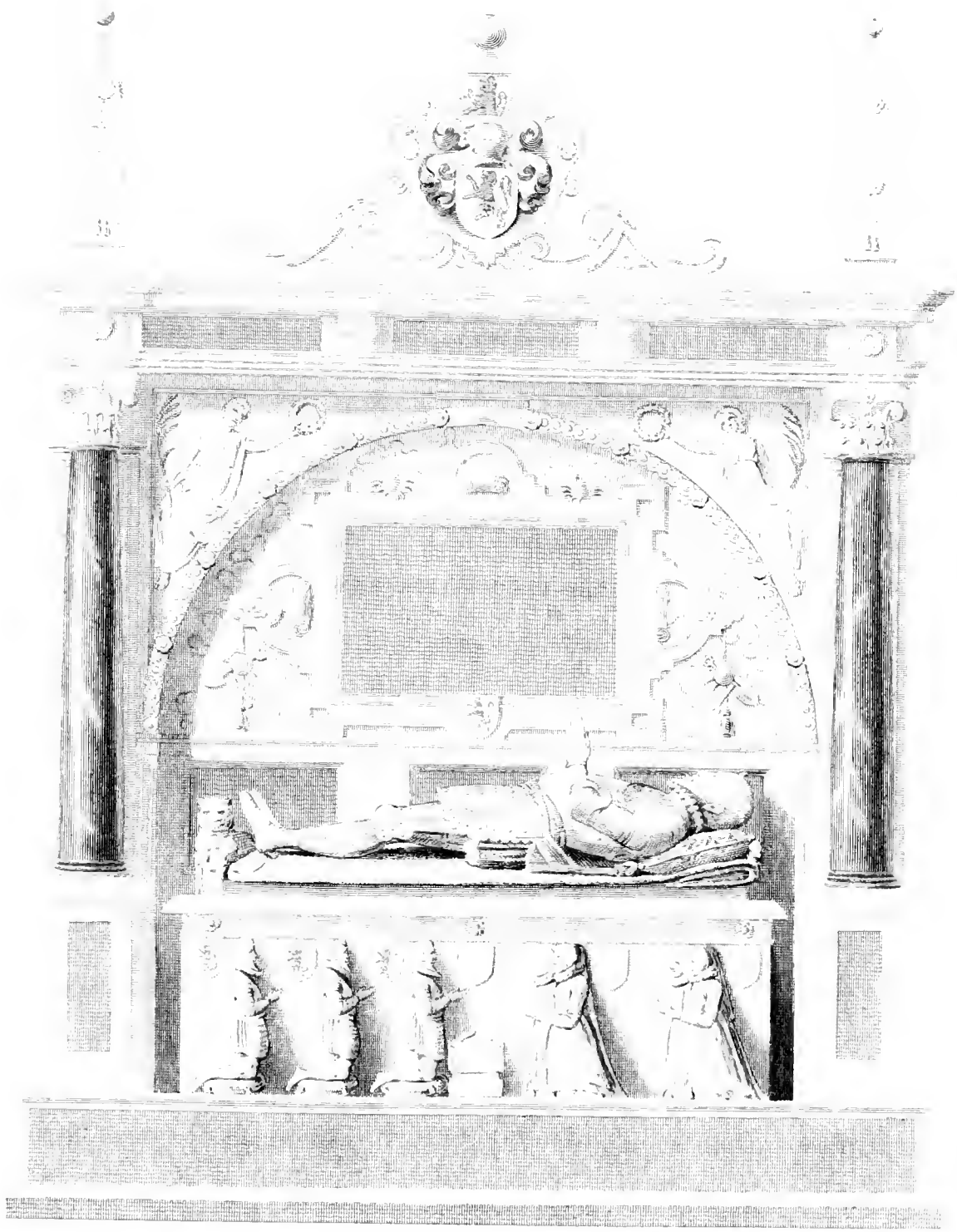
Description of the Monument of Sir RALPH SADLER *in Standon Church, Hertfordshire.*[1]

The monument is supported by two round pillars, with an arch in the middle, in which the following inscription is placed:

"This worthie knighte in his youth was brought up with Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Lord Cromwell; and when he came to man's estate he became his secretarie, by meanes whereof he did writ manie thinges touchinge matters of state, and by that meanes he in continuance of time was knowen to king Henrye the VIII., who conceaving a good opinion of him as a man meete to serve him, tooke him from the lord Cromwell, above the 26 yeare of his raigne, into his service, and above the 30 yeare of his raigne made him one of his principal secretaries. The kinge did most employe him in service towarde Scotland, whither he sente him in diverse and sondrie jorneys, bothe in warre and peace; in which service he behaved himself with such diligence and fidelite, and he ever came home in the kinges favour, and not unrewarded. He was of the privie counsell with king Henry the VIII.; with king Edward the VI. he was made knight banneret at Muskelborowe fielde; and in the 10th yeare of quene Elizabeth he was made chancellor of the duchie of Lancaster, in whiche office he continued until his deathe. He was a diligente and trustye servante to his prince, and faythful to the state, and beloved in his countrie. He died in the 80 yeere of his age, A. D. 1587, and in the 29 yeare of quene Elizabeth, and is here buried."

Under this inscription is the effigy of a knight in armour, lying upon a piece of stone cut in the form of a mat, under which is in-

[1] In the engraving which will be found in this work, Herefordshire is printed erroneously for Hertfordshire.



MONUMENT OF SIR RALPH SADLEIR,

scribed his motto. Below are the effigies of his three sons and four daughters kneeling.

The monument is surmounted with his coat armorial, which, by patent dated Feb. 4, 1575, is the following: "He beareth Or: a Lyon Rampant, party per Fesse Azure and Gules, Armed and Langued Argent. Crest, on a wreath a Demi-Lyon Rampant Azure, crowned with a Ducal Coronet Or. Motto, *Servire Deo Sapere.*"

At the foot of one of the pillars is the following inscription: *Ambitioni hostis, in conciliis apertus, fidelis regis famulus at semper amator patriæ virtute crevit.*

Near the monument stood the standard which he took from the king of Scotland, armed with iron, and as high as a horseman's sword could reach.

On a stone in the chancell of the church is the following description:

Radelphus Sadleir titulam sortitus equestram
Principibus tribus arcanis, e censibus unus
Auspiciis sum Cromwelli deductus in aulam
Henrici Octavi quem secretarius omni
Officio coluit Regique Gregique fidelis
Vexilarem equitem me Muscleburgia vidit
Edwardus Sextus Scotiam cum frangeret armis
Ducam Lancastrensis sublime tribunal
Cancellarius ascendi quod pondus honoris
Elizabethæ meæ possuit diadema senectæ
Expleat natura sua et gloria partis
Maturus facili decerpor ab arbore fructus
Obiit An. Dom. 1587. 29 *Elizth. etatis* 80.

Richard Vernon Sadleir, esq. of Southampton, the present venerable representative of sir Ralph, paid the following tribute at the tomb of his great ancestor.

Verses on a Visit to the Monument of Sir RALPH SADLEIR, *Knight Banneret, at Standon in Hertfordshire.*

Spirit revered! if aught beneath the sky
Can for a moment's space engage thine eye;
If tender sympathies are felt above,
And souls refined retain parental love;
Listen, and with a smile of favour see
Him, who descends by lineal birth from thee!

In pensive mood, with awful tread, I come
To feed reflection at thy hallowed tomb.
Though dormant lie the honours, once our boast,
Though much of wealth, and much of fame be lost,
Enough of wealth remains, enough of fame,
To save from dark obscurity our name;
And when the strange vicissitudes I trace,
Which sunk to humbler life thy generous race;
When the false pride of pedigree would rise
And wake ambition by its fruitless sighs,
My conscious spirit bids me not repine
At loss of treasures, which were never mine,
But raise the look of thankfulness to heaven,
Who, though withholding much, content has given.
Rivers that flow full copious at the source,
By Time's strong hand impell'd, forsake their course;
But He, who rules the world with stronger hand,
Can bid new fountains rise t' enrich the land.

Oh! if He wisdom give, I'll ne'er complain
That others now possess thy wide domain,
While, in the vale of tears, I seek the road
That leads through darkness to the blest abode,
Where all distinctions cease, where son and sire,
Monarch and slave, to praise their God conspire.

R. V. S.

No. V.

Catalogue of the Fac-similes of Signatures engraved on the Four Plates annexed.

PLATE I.

1. *Philipp. Marye the quene.* Philip II. king of Spain, and Mary, queen of England. From a letter dated 20 April 1555.
2. *Nico. Ebor. Canc.* Dr Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York and chancellor of England. Febr. 24, 1556.
3. Signatures to a letter from the Privy Council, Aug. 15, 1559.
   W. Northt. William Par, marquis of Northampton.
   Arundell. Henry Fitzalen, earl of Arundel.
   E. Clynton. Edward lord Clinton, lord high admiral.
   W. Howard. William lord Howard of Effingham.
   Sir Tho. Parry.
   Sir Edward Rogers.
   Sir Francis Knollys.
   Sir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh.
   Sir Rychard Sakevyle.
   Nicholas Wotton, esq.
4. Thomas, seventh earl of *Northumberland.*
5. Signatures to a letter dated 30 Aug. 1559, from the Commissioners of Scotland.
   James earl of *Boithwill.*
   Sir Richard Maitland the elder of Lethington.
   Sir Walter Ker of Cesfurd.

PLATE II.

1. Queen Elizabeth.
2. Thomas Randolph, *alias* Barnaby.
3. Oswold Chapman, mayor of Newcastle.
4. Sir Ralph Sadleir and Sir James Crofts.
5. Sir Wylliam Inglyby, treasurer of Berwick.
6. Thomas lord Wharton.
7. Sir William Drury.
8. James Ormistoun of that ilk.
9. Lord James Stewart, commendator of Saint Andrews.

PLATE III.

1. Earl of Winchester.
   Earl of Pembroke.
   John Masone, one of the privy council.
2. Marie, queen-dowager of Scotland, widow of James V.
3. Monsieur D'Oyselle, a French commander.
4. Sir John Forster, warden of the East marches.
5. Sir Rawffe Gray.
6. Alexander lord Hume.
7. Patrick Whitlaw of that ilk.
8. Marmaduke Slyngsbye.

PLATE IV.

1. William Maitland of Lethington.
2. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord chancellor.
   Francis earl of Bedford.
3. George Heron.
4. James Hamylton, duke of Chatelherault.

5. Robert earl of Leycester.
6. Charles Neville earl of Westmerland.
7. Sir Robert Constable.
8. Willelmus Stewart, notary public. From a recognisance dated 27 Dec. 1559.
9. King James VI. (I of England.)
10. J. Carey, lord Hunsdon.
11. John Somer, secretary to Sir R. Sadleir.
12. Sir Walter Mildmay.

Mazye the quene

Nico eboz cant

W Northt

E. Clynton

W Howard

Thos. Parry

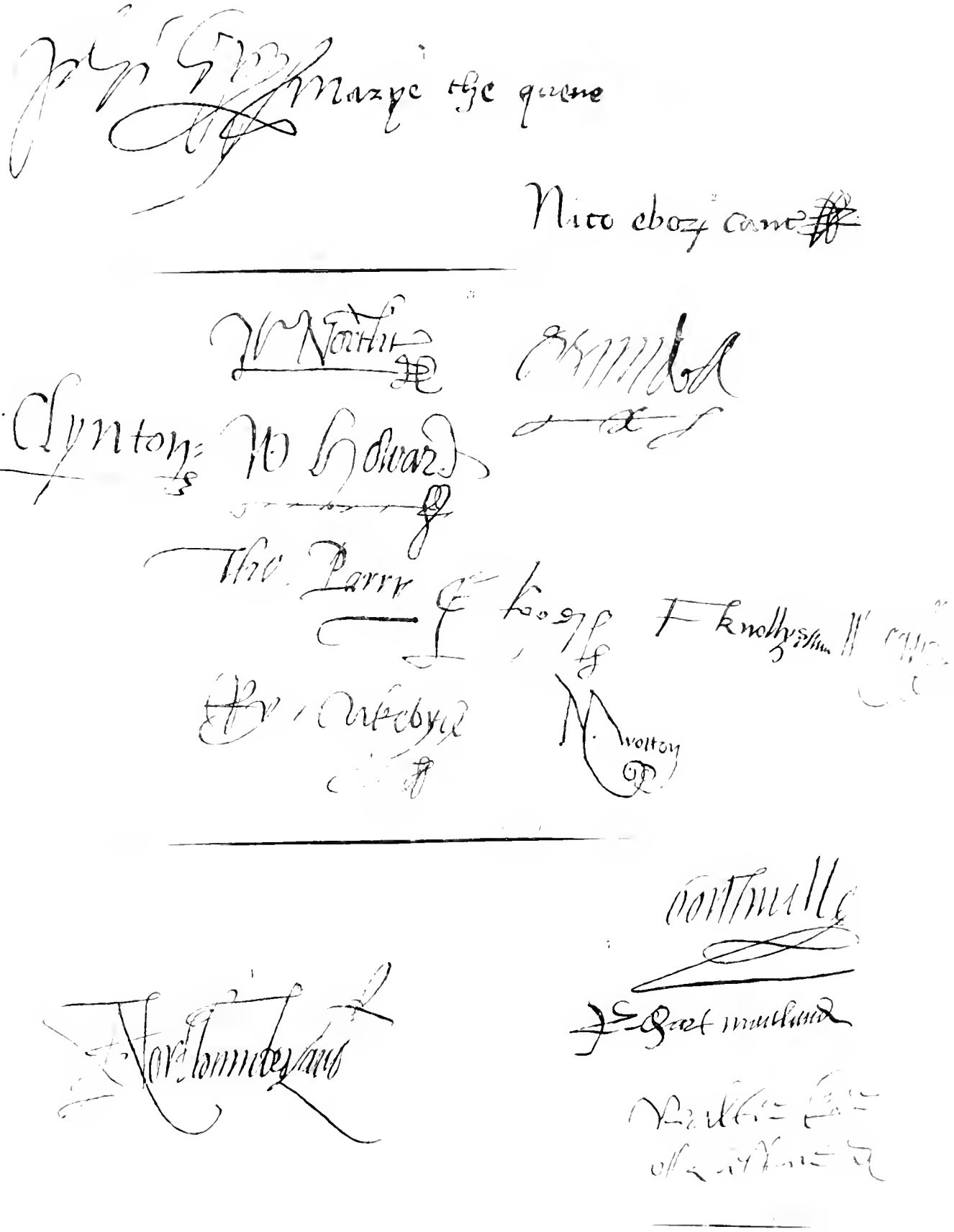
F knollys

Wolton

Northumberland

Cornwall

Gart mauland



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Elizabeth R

31 Aug 1559

2

Tho Randolph alias Barnaby

3

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4

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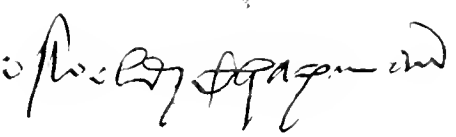

22 Sep 1559

5

William Pinchbeck

6

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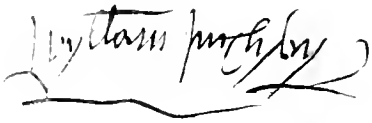
7

William [illegible]

8



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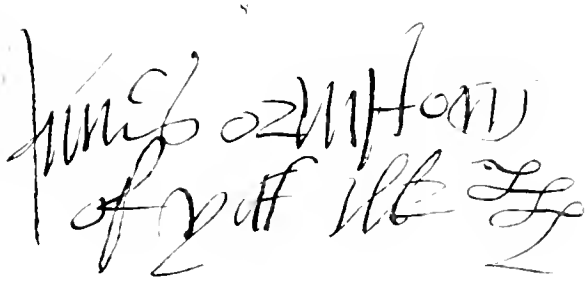

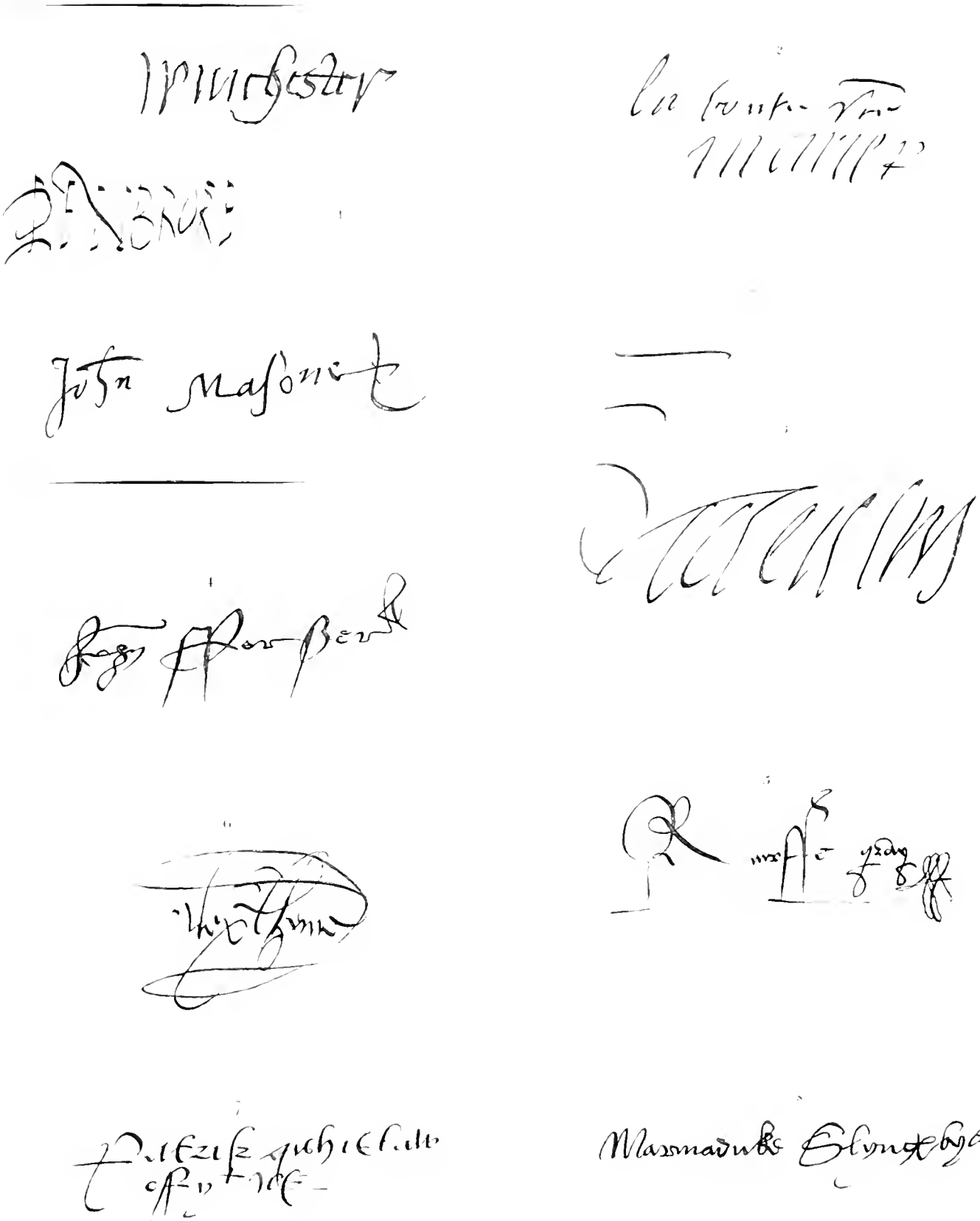

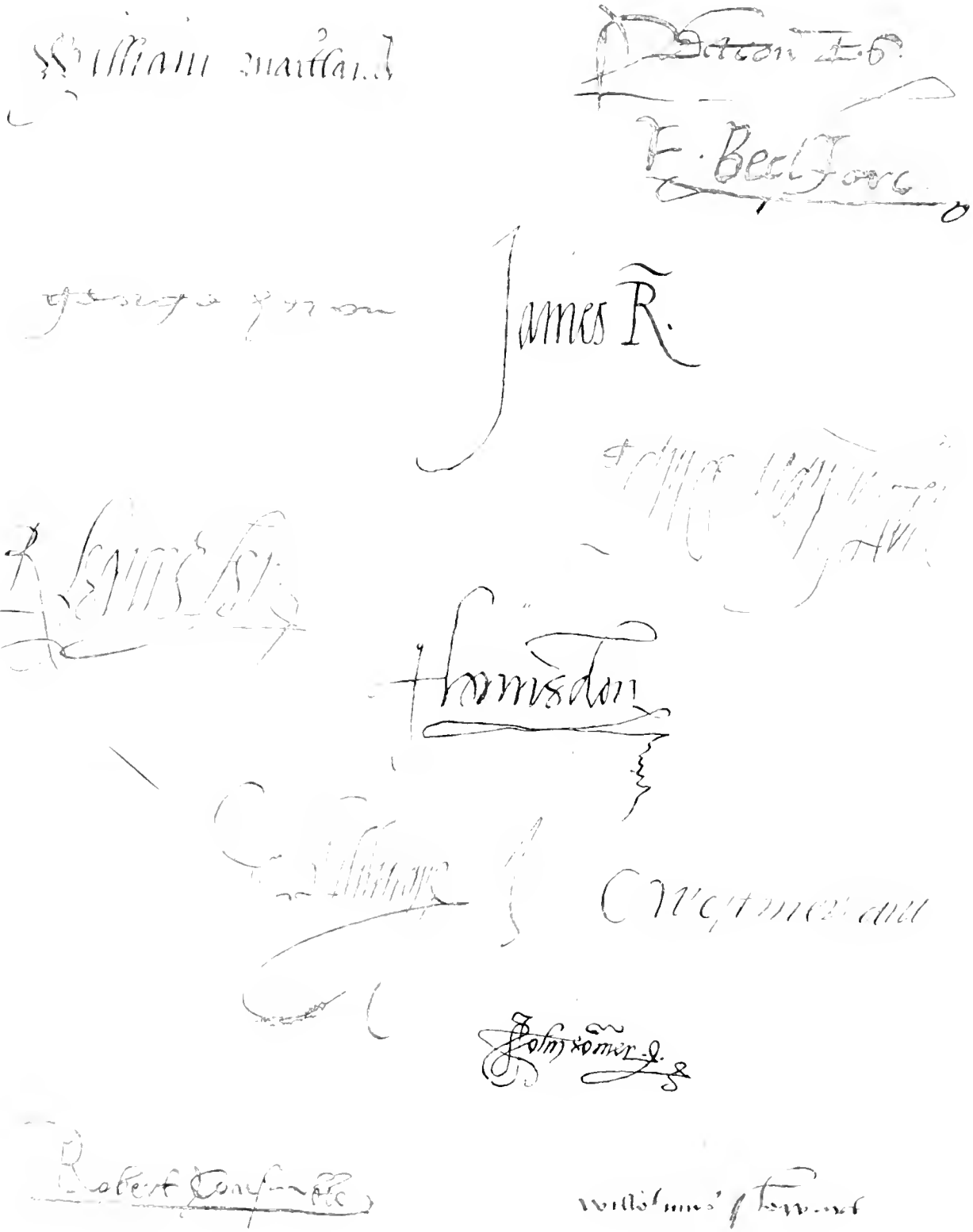

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